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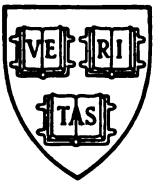

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SIR JAMES PORTER, KNT

Late Ambassador from Great Britain
to the Ottoman Porte

TURKEY;

ITS HISTORY AND PROGRESS:

FROM

THE JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF

SIR JAMES PORTER,

FIFTEEN YEARS AMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE;

CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME,

WITH

A MEMOIR OF SIR JAMES PORTER,

BY HIS GRANDSON,

SIR GEORGE LARPENT, BART.

&c. &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

At the present moment, when the interest felt about Turkey and the Osmanli is, if possible, heightened by the gallant resistance they have offered to the array of their northern foe, it will hardly be necessary to offer any apology for the publication of the present volumes, which are intended to give a full and comprehensive account of Turkey, past and present, and to show what hopes may be formed as to the permanent regeneration and progress of our ancient ally.

In pursuance of this object, no better materials could be possibly found than the documents and correspondence which form the basis of these volumes. Sir James Porter was for many

years English Envoy at Constantinople, and during his residence at that Court he took advantage of every opportunity to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the manners and customs of the extraordinary nation with whom he was brought into contact. The materials left by him, relative to Turkey, have been incorporated in the first volume of this work, and though a portion of them may appear unsuited to the condition of the Turkish Empire of the present day, still it was thought advisable to retain it, in order that the reader, by a comparison with the actual state of Turkey, as described in the second volume, might be enabled more fully to understand the remarkable changes which have been effected during the course of the present century.

The first volume, in addition to those portions of Sir James Porter's papers referring to Turkey exclusively, has been enriched by the addition to the Appendix of a very valuable unpublished journal kept by him, of the negotiations between Austria and Prussia, in the time of Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa. Not interfering

in any way with the plan of the work, the Editor did not consider that he would be justified in omitting such important papers, which will be found of great value in forming a correct judgment as to the character of Frederick. Nor will the revelations relative to our own Court, he feels assured, be read without interest.

As regards the second volume, which refers entirely to the progress of Turkish reform, the Editor has to express his acknowledgements for the ample sources placed at his command by foreign literature, and more especially by Ubicini's 'Lettres sur la Turquie,' a most valuable book in every respect, and containing indubitably very essential materials for any writer upon Turkey. The only fault this Author has, is a bias in favour of the Turks, which leads him to regard everything in the most brilliant colours; but this the Editor has sought to rectify, by consulting every other writer upon Turkey, whose position or opportunities rendered his opinion worthy of attention. All the statements relating to the commerce, military organization, finances, &c. of the Turks have

been carefully compared with existing statistical tables, both English and foreign, and it is believed that they possess such accuracy as will render the present work valuable to the political student, as well as interesting to the general reader.

The Editor may add, in conclusion, that he has not sought to obtrude his own views on the "quœstio vexata" of the East, but has contented himself with bringing forward such facts as tend to increase our knowledge of a country about which the works that have been already written express such divergent opinions, as render it almost impossible to form a correct judgment in the matter.

Paris, September, 1854.

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VOL. II.

PORTRAIT OF ABD-UL MEDJID, SULTAN OF TURKEY.—*Frontispiece.*

MEMOIR OF SIR JAMES PORTER.

TURKEY.

MEMOIR OF SIR JAMES PORTER.

It has been thought necessary to prefix to these volumes, intended to throw light upon the history, manners, and government of the Turks, a Memoir of Sir James Porter, the basis of the work being the materials left by him, and it is hoped that the selection may be fully justified by the peculiar opportunities he possessed of forming correct opinions on these matters (having been British Ambassador to the Porte from 1747 to 1762), and by his acknowledged abilities, which enabled him to make the best use of those opportunities. The volume he published on that subject was admitted by Dr Robertson "to be that of a man who had observed the Government of the Turks with attention, and described it with ability;" and Sir W. Jones, though differing from some of the author's conclusions, admired and was sincerely attached to him.

Sir James Porter was the architect of his own fortunes: his father, whose name was La Rogue, or La Roche,* was Captain of a troop of horse under James II, and distinguished himself in an attack upon Mont St Michel. His parents followed the fortunes of James II to Dublin, where the subject of our memoir was born about the year 1710. The failure of their royal master's campaign entailed the ruin of the La Roches; their grant of land in Ireland was forfeited and themselves proscribed. On the death of the father, an uncle of the name of Porter, possessing considerable influence in Dublin with the successful party, protected the family, and, at his request, they assumed the name of PORTER. Sir James's mother, a woman represented by him as a person of great energy and strength of mind, bore the severe trials to which she was exposed with fortitude and piety. She was the daughter of Mr Daubuz of Yorkshire, and to her brother, Mr Daubuz of Brotherton, her son was mainly indebted for his education, and for his steadfast adherence to the reformed faith, which was professed by his mother, notwithstanding her husband's connexion with the Stuart family.

Placed at an early age in business in the City

* Sir James Porter and his son, General Porter, retained the arms of La Roche, and it was the remark at the Herald's College that no family of the name of Porter ever bore the same coat of arms.

of London, James Porter was, in everything save the elementary knowledge acquired at a common school, self-educated. He loved study and devoted to it every moment he could spare from the drudgery of business. "His excellent mother," he says in a memoir found among his papers, "was rigidly pious: she fasted regularly, and her mode of fasting was by abstaining from food to a later hour than was usual in those days. This," he continues, "suited me well: I came from my desk in time to walk to my favourite bookstalls till past five o'clock, the hour when my mother supped. I then went to the play till nine o'clock, never allowing myself to remain beyond that hour, which was the time for shutting up her rooms." In those days there were no farces to prolong the entertainment: no saloons to entice a young man to dissipation; and in after times, when two rooms were well filled with his carefully selected library, he pointed with honest pride to the shabbily bound purchases of his youth.

He was somewhat sceptical of the advantages of classical literature, as most persons are, who have not had the advantage of imbibing deeply from those sources of wisdom and beauty. In support of his opinions, he would frequently quote the lines of Boileau:

"Un pedant enivré de sa vaine science,
Tout herrissé de Grec, tout bouffu d'arrogance."

He, however, assiduously studied mathematics, and, to a moderate knowledge of Latin, added a perfect acquaintance with the French and Italian languages.

At the theatre he became acquainted with a young lawyer of the name of Adams, and by him was introduced to a debating society called the "Robin Hood," where he distinguished himself as a speaker, and to maintain his reputation with the society he was constrained to study those subjects which were brought forward for discussion. Adams became Recorder of London and a Baron of the Exchequer; their friendship only ended with their lives, and was strengthened by a family connexion. James Porter's brother, John, was also placed in business, prospered, became an Alderman of London, and he and Adams married two sisters, daughters of Mr Amyand, a merchant. Mr Amyand had two sons, one of whom became an eminent merchant, M.P., Director of the East-India Company, and was eventually created a Baronet, while the other married a Dowager-Countess of Northampton, and was appointed a Commissioner of Customs.

Through Adams, James Porter was introduced to Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville. In 1736, it appears from his papers that he was on the continent, where he formed both at Leyden and in Germany many valuable acquaintances among the scientific men of the day. He has also left a rather curious account of his visit, during his residence at

Leipzig, to the Moravian settlement of Count Zinzendorff, which will be found in the Appendix.

From his general character for ability and his commercial knowledge, Mr Porter was selected by Lord Carteret, and employed on several confidential missions, in matters connected with continental commerce. In 1741, we find him associated with Sir Thomas Robinson, the British minister at Vienna, and supporting the house of Austria, in the crisis of its fortunes, upon the death of the Emperor Charles VI, in October, 1740, and the accession of Maria Theresa. Of what took place at this interesting period, James Porter has left a very curious memoir, which illustrates in a most graphic manner the conduct of Frederick, King of Prussia, and of Maria Theresa. It is unfortunately imperfect, and the conclusion has not been found among his papers. Mr Porter was employed for nine years on the continent, and, in 1746, was appointed ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. It was doubtless owing to the strong attachment subsisting between him and Sir T. Robinson, and the high opinion that Lord Granville had formed of his abilities, that he received this reward for the services he had rendered. His connection also with Mr Amyand, who was a leading person in the Turkey Company, probably influenced this choice, the members of the Turkey trade having at that time a very powerful voice in the city, and the revival of the Levant trade being considered an object of national importance.

It appears from his papers that, being popular at Constantinople both with the merchants and the natives, and having established a character for fair dealing, he was enabled to grant his protection to aliens, Jews, and Armenians to a much greater extent than any other minister. Under the shelter of this privilege, these persons were enabled to carry on their trades or professions in security, despite the arbitrary rule of the Sultan, and, when molested, find a refuge with the representative of the Porte's powerful ally. The fees for this protection at that time formed an important item in the emoluments of the ambassador, and to this source and to the judicious economy he established in his household—through his thorough acquaintance with the Turkish character—Mr Porter owed the independence he acquired. He soon discovered that the Turks viewed any ostentatious display on the part of an ambassador not only with indifference and habitual apathy, but sometimes with contempt. Pursuing his favourite studies and carrying on a correspondence with the most eminent scientific and literary men of his day, he passed a useful and easy life at Constantinople. Always cheerful, gay even to playfulness, and indulging in his natural humour and love of jesting: with little vanity and no fastidiousness; his simple manners and constitutional hilarity contributed largely to his own happiness and to that of all connected with him. This, at least, appears to have been the character he bore in the

society where he moved, and is confirmed by the general tenor of the correspondence which has been preserved.

In 1735, he married the eldest daughter of the Dutch Ambassador at Constantinople, the Baron de Hochepied—a young lady of much beauty and natural talent. Her family was ancient and noble, and, for centuries, had been distinguished in diplomatic circles. The title they enjoyed, with the dignity of Magnate of Hungary, was the grant of the Emperor Leopold, in 1704, as a recompense to their ancestor, who had been Ambassador at Vienna, and had largely contributed to the satisfactory conclusion of the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1698, and to the liberation of the Christian slaves. The Embassy to the Porte had become almost hereditary in the Hochepied family, and another branch enjoyed in a similar manner the Dutch Consulship at Smyrna.

Mr Porter, finding his health failing, and being desirous of revisiting his native country, applied to the Minister then holding the seals of the Foreign Office, for his recal, but his application was met by complimentary letters, and he always complained of the general carelessness and indifference of the administration, which was involved in Parliamentary and domestic squabbles, during the whole of Lord Chesterfield's tenure of office. Perhaps, the total dissimilarity between himself and that noble Lord, in character and morals, may have given a sharper edge

to these complaints; but, be this as it may, he was not released from what he then considered a burden, until the accession of W. Pitt, Lord Chatham, to office, when an immediate answer, dated August, 1761, was returned to his renewed application to be recalled. A plain and manly eulogium was pronounced upon his services, which were stated to have met the entire approval of his Sovereign, and permission was accorded for his return to England. Of this he availed himself in 1762, when he left Constantinople and was succeeded by Mr Henry Grenville, a near connection of Lord Chatham, and who had been Governor of Barbadoes. As he had an extreme aversion to a sea voyage, he declined returning in the frigate which had brought out his successor, and undertook the journey to England by land—a task, of which we of the present generation, spoiled by the facilities afforded by good roads and railways, can scarcely form an adequate conception. Of this journey a curious account has been preserved in the letters written by Mrs Porter to her sister Mademoiselle de Hochepied at Pera, and the learned Jesuit, Boscowitz, also published a detail of it. The former will be found in the Appendix.

In 1763, Mr Porter was appointed British Minister at Brussels. His reasons for accepting this appointment are given in a very characteristic letter from him to Mr Grenville. During his fifteen years' residence at Constantinople, Mr Porter had lost sight of

his connexions in domestic politics: those with whom he had acted, had vanished from the scene—partly through death, and partly through the fluctuations caused by the corrupt system of Parliamentary influence under Lord Newcastle. He possessed no borough or borough friends, hence he was willing to accept the easy office of Minister at Brussels, which was rendered the more agreeable to him by the residence in that city of his old acquaintance, Prince Charles of Lorraine, who was the Austrian Governor of the Netherlands.

Upon accepting the appointment at Brussels, Mr Porter was offered in 1764 a Baronetcy, which, from prudential motives, he declined, and at his request it was conferred upon his friend Amyand, whose descendants still exist under the name of Cornwall. As he thought, however, that the title of Chevalier (as he expressed himself) would sound well, and would be appreciated at an Austrian Court, he accepted a Knighthood. At Brussels, Sir James remained until 1765, and in one of his letters he says, that he considered this appointment one of the happiest events of his life, as it brought him into intimate connexion with Prince Charles of Lorraine, a person for whom he entertained the highest regard and admiration. He had witnessed the great services the Prince had rendered to the House of Austria during 1741-44: the manner in which he had surmounted the numerous difficulties that beset his path,

and the brilliant termination of his career. The friendship, established in Germany, was continued at Brussels upon the most intimate footing, but as that capital had become, after the peace of Paris, the resort of English visitors, Sir James found the expenses his station obliged him to incur, beyond his means. He therefore solicited his recal in 1765, and returned to England, where he henceforth lived without any official capacity till his death, dividing his time between London and a villa at Ham, and in the enjoyment of a retiring pension of 1200*l.* per annum. He devoted the greater portion of his time to the cultivation of science and literature, and to the education of his children.

Richmond and its beautiful neighbourhood was, in those days, the residence of persons of fashion and eminence; among those who formed the *entourage* of Sir James Porter were Lord Besborough—well known to him while travelling in Turkey; Philip, Lord Hardwicke; Daniel Wray, a man of uncommon information but eccentric habits; D. Garrick; Mr Cambridge, the author of several well-known works; and at Ham resided the celebrated Duchess of Queensbury, remarkable for her beauty, which was celebrated by Pope, and for her carelessness as regarded external forms. Prior's Kitty "beautiful and young" had grown old, but still retained marked traces of her former beauty. She was interesting and fantastic, and enjoyed heartily the flattering

homage she received. With this lady Sir James and his family were intimate, and at her house they met Mrs Clive and Mrs Abingdon—both actresses well known in their day. At his splendid villa near Putney, Sir G. Vanneck lived, a connection of the Hochepied family, and at whose house Neckar and his wife were frequent guests.

Upon the death of Lord Morton, President of the Royal Society, in 1768, a strong party in the Council and other members invited Sir James to succeed him: but not feeling himself of sufficient consequence, or rich enough to live in such a style as he conceived that the President of such a Society should maintain, for the reception of literary and scientific men, both native and foreign—he declined the honour, and Sir John Pringle, an eminent Physician, for whom he had a sincere regard, was elected.

It was in the quiet of his retirement at Ham that Sir James wrote his 'Observations on the Turks,' and a pamphlet on the Partition of Poland, to which *nefarious* proceeding, as he termed it, he was strenuously opposed. At the request of the Government, however, this pamphlet was suppressed; but his indignation was warmly and eloquently expressed in the presence of Baron Rougerfeldt, the Austrian ambassador, in the following words:—"Ce n'est pas vous, M. le Baron; vous etes un honnête homme. Je vous plains d'avoir affaire avec ces gens là—c'est ces têtes couronnées que je con-

damne; mais Dieu leur fera justice"—a prediction which, though delayed, it is to be hoped will still be accomplished by the providence of a righteous God.

At the house of his friend, Mr Sargent, an American merchant, Sir James met Dr Franklin, and though opposed to him in politics and opinion as to the justice of the complaints of the American colonists, Franklin was frequently at Sir James's house at Ham, amusing the family with his pithy sentences, cold yet observing manners, drab suit, and, when roused, his unadorned but persuasive eloquence. With Mr Berenger* also there was much intimacy, whom few men in society equalled in wit, originality, and good taste. He was connected with Lord Lyttleton; he taught George III to ride, and his almost grotesque figure gave poignancy to the peculiar vein of humour he possessed. On Sir James's visits to Bath, which he frequently made for the benefit of his health, he renewed his friendship with Allan, Lord Bathurst, who then lived in retirement at Cirencester. Some very characteristic letters from that aged nobleman, the friend of Pope, which are appended, will be perused with interest.

One other person must yet be mentioned—the

* R. Berenger was a man of considerable literary talents, and for his personal accomplishments was called by Dr Johnson "The standard of true elegance." He wrote the 'History and Art of Horsemanship,' three excellent papers in the 'World,' and Poems inserted in Dodsley's Collection.

celebrated Sir W. Jones, whose love and high esteem for Sir J. Porter are best attested by the following beautiful extract from his epistle dedicatory to Earl Bathurst, son of Allan, Lord Bathurst, and Chancellor:

"As a benefit intended is the same in my opinion as a benefit conferred, my obligation to your lordship is perfectly equal; and this sentiment, I intreat you to believe, no change of situation can alter—no length of time can obliterate.

"I had a friend, my lord, who knew my gratitude for the former instance of your kindness, and he, indeed, is entitled to some share of it, as it was he who procured me the honour of being known to your lordship. With your late favours, unhappily for me, and unhappily for all who were connected with him, he did not live to become acquainted.

"Your lordship perceives that I speak of Sir James Porter, whom you also called your friend, and by whom you were most truly esteemed and respected. He was a man whose social virtues were so transcendent, that his life was spent in the perpetual exertion of them, and not a day of it elapsed without some intention sincerely expressed, or some act zealously performed, for the pleasure and advantage of another. Nor were his talents inferior to his benevolence, for, during his embassy at Constantinople, where he gained a perfect acquaintance with the manners of an extraordinary people, among whom he lived, his

address and activity were properly exerted, so that the interests of our mercantile body were never better secured, nor the honour of our nation better supported. Of useful, as well as ornamental, knowledge, both in literature and science, he had a considerably greater portion than is usually possessed by men of the world; and while he was effectually serving his country as a minister, he justly acquired the reputation of a scholar.

"One part of his character was no less amiable than uncommon; so totally free was he from envy—the vice of little souls—that he was always eager to encourage the appearance of literary merit, wherever it could be found; and if any person had cultivated a particular branch of learning more assiduously than himself, he took a real pleasure in receiving information, and, what was still more rare at his age, in renouncing ancient prejudices and retracting opinions which he allowed to have been precipitately formed.

"But it is needless to expatiate on his excellent qualities, which were known to your lordship, as well as to many of your common friends, and I need only add that his well-spent life would have been completely happy, if it had lasted till he had seen you retire with dignity form the high office which you so long filled with honour, and had been witness of the splendid tranquillity which you now enjoy."*

* Vol. II, 4to edition of Sir W. Jones's Works.

In another part of his works, Sir W. Jones says, "Sir James Porter, author of 'Observations on the Government and Manners of the Turks,' had, from his residence in their metropolis, and the distinguished part he bore in it, an opportunity of inspecting their customs and forming a good idea of their character. It is a singular pleasure to me to find many of my sentiments confirmed by the authority of so judicious a writer."

This brief memoir must now be brought to a close. Sir James Porter's latter years were embittered by a most tormenting complaint. His constitutional hilarity was, however, proof against the cruel disease, which in those days was not alleviated by the discoveries of modern science, and he frequently declared that his latter years were among the happiest of his life. An extract from a letter to his son, then a youth of fifteen, dated November, 1774, evinces the tone of his mind, and the principles by which he was actuated in his domestic relations.

"Your letter gave me satisfaction, as it contained an account of your health, and the method you pursue in your studies.

"I never saw Duncan's logic but as a preparatory to Locke. I dare say you will find it useful; such books require not only reading but reflection. You should comprehend—that is, master and understand—every part as you go on; never mind how small a portion you can compass at a time. Many read, but

few comprehend. England would contain a mass of philosophers, if the numbers that read all understood and reflected upon what they read; but too many read *pour tuer le temps*. They make use of books as children do of playthings—the ideas of the one are as transient as the other, and of as little use—they retain nothing. Persevere, and understand well what you read; such information is a treasure for future use.

"I have read your Latin theme with pleasure, and I think you improve; that language may be of great use—indeed, most languages are so, both as an ornament to the mind, and as an aid in acquiring true knowledge. The living languages—especially the French, are essential conductors to lead us through the world, or society, or in business. Go on steadily, do not take study by starts, but follow up the matter closely. Think, reflect, and lodge a good stock in your storehouse that you may retail on every proper occasion. I shall, as you desire, send you Grotius *de Veritate*, which is an excellent book. Mr R— is very judicious and kind to direct you in reading Chesterfield's letters. Good there is in them, but much that is bad also, and rather what should be avoided: he sacrifices virtue to external ornament.

"The members are coming up to Parliament; you are correct in your remark, for it is too true that, in electioneering, right and wrong are too much confounded, and, to the shame of men of sense, who would be angry if you doubted their probity in

common life—they but too often approve every means to obtain their end, sparing no calumny, even to reviling immaculate characters and utterly disregarding what should be the first principle of action in life—Truth. I never could consider myself justified *in foro conscientiæ*, or as an accountable being—in playing with Truth; and cunning, as Lord Bacon justly observes, is *left-handed wisdom.* I could no more consent to do this in public, than in private, life: I am diffident of all men who make such subtle distinctions in such important matters. Be ever true, ever honest—your yea, yea, and your nay, nay: learn the *decenda et tacenda*, but deny no truth. In twenty-five years' public service I rigidly steered that course: go on, my dear boy—obtain *useful* knowledge—be virtuous and you will be happy."

In 1786, Sir James Porter went to Bath, in the hope of alleviating his complaint: but the last scene of his useful life was drawing to a close. In his confidential conversations with his daughter, he expressed himself fully aware of his state, and in the December of the same year, he expired in the full possession of his faculties, in the 66th year of his age.

Sir James left behind him a son and two daughters. The son rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and sate for many years in Parliament for Stockbridge. He was married, but left no children at his decease in

1828. In February 1819, and in accordance with the terms of the grant made to his maternal ancestor, the Baron de Hochepied, he succeeded to that title; and the Prince Regent was graciously pleased, in May of the same year, to allow him and his two nephews, the only children of his sister by John Larpent, Esq., of East Sheen, to take the surname and bear the arms of de Hochepied. In September following, a further licence was given that he and his two nephews and their issue male respectively, might use in the United Kingdom the title of Baron de Hochepied, with the privileges thereunto attached.

The two daughters of Sir James Porter were: Anna Margaretta, married, as before stated, to John Larpent, Esq., whose eldest son, John James, now bears the title of Baron de Hochepied. The second son, George Gerard, was created a Baronet in August 4th, 1841. Both are still living, but Mrs Larpent died in 1832. The second daughter, Clarissa Catharine, was married to James Trail, Esq., under secretary of State in Ireland, who died in 1808. Mrs Trail also died in 1833, and left no issue.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

By the Turkish Empire we understand all the countries more or less dependant on the Sultan of Constantinople, in the three quarters of the old world. These countries extend from the Adriatic Gulf and the Austrian and Russo-European frontiers deep into Asia, and the northern part of Africa, surrounding the eastern portion of the Mediterranean, and forming its southern coast, with the greater portion of the western coast of the Black Sea.

European Turkey, called by the Turks, Rumelia or Roumeli, the country of Roum, a name given to the Greeks of the lower empire during the middle ages, contains the provinces of Rumelia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania, Bosnia, the island of Candia, with four other islands in the Ægean Sea, and the tributary countries of Servia, Wallachia and Moldavia.

Turkey in Asia is composed of Asia Minor, Syria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia: the cities of Mecca and

Medina are, although nominally, as well as other portions of the Arabian country of el Hedjaz, considered to form part of it.

The Turkish possessions in Africa are confined to Egypt and Tripoli, although Tunis is nominally said to belong to it.

The whole superficial area of the Osmanli empire comprises about 300,000 geographical square miles, and its total population is estimated by some authors at more than thirty-five and a quarter millions, by others at only twenty-four millions.

European Turkey contains the larger and northern portion of the Eastern South European Peninsula, with the addition of several islands: it consequently lies between the Adriatic and the Black Sea, and is divided from Turkey in Asia by the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Hellespont. The territorial boundaries are in the north, Russia, and Austria, and in the west, Austrian Dalmatia.

European Turkey, with which we are here principally engaged, is divided into Eyalets or general Governments, besides the Danubian Principalities, of which the population is as follows:—

Thrace . . .	1,800,000
Rumelia and Thessaly .	2,700,000
Bulgaria . . .	3,000,000
Albania . . .	1,200,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,100,000
Wallachia . . .	2,600,000

Moldavia	. . .	1,400,000
Servia	. . .	1,000,000
Islands	. . .	700,000
	Total .	15,500,000

However, as regards the internal administration, the Turkish Government pays but little attention to the customary provincial divisions in geographical works. The whole empire is divided into thirty-five eyalets or vice-royalties, whose governors, according to the importance of the eyalet, bear the title of Vali (viceroy), or Mutessarif (governor-general). The eyalets are subdivided into 142 livas, at whose head are the Kaimakams (vice-governors), or Mohassils (prefects). The livas are again subdivided into 1,320 kazas or districts, and the kazas into nahias or parishes.

European Turkey contains fifteen eyalets, forty-two livas, and one hundred and thirty two kazas. The fifteen eyalets are as follows :—

EYALET.	SEAT OF VICEROY.
1. Edirneh (Thrace, Schirmen) .	Adrianople.
2. Silistria (Bulgaria) . .	Silistria.
3. Boghdan (Moldavia) . .	Jassy.
4. Eflak (Wallachia) . .	Bucharest.
5. Vidin (Bulgaria) . . .	Widdin.
6. Nisch (Nissa) . . .	Nissa.

EYALET.	SEAT OF VICEROY.
7. Uskup (Eastern Albania)	Uskup.
8. Syrp (Servia)	Belgrade.
9. The Fortress of Belgrade	Belgrade.
10. Bosna (Bosnia)	Seravevo.
11. Rumili (Albania and Macedonia)	Monastir.
12. Yania (Epirus)	Yanina.
13. Selanik (Macedonia)	Salonichi.
14. Djizair (Alchepelago)	Rhodes.
15. Kryt (Kandia)	Kandia.

The population of Turkey in Europe consists of a fusion of various nations: and any remarks we may make about them, will be equally referrible to the population of Turkey in Asia, at least as regards the Turks, Tartars, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews.

We will, in the first instance, examine the nationality of the various races that inhabit Turkey in Europe, and we find that the Turks only form a minority of the population; for even Turkish authorities state them to amount only to 1,100,000, while private statements estimate them at 700,000 or 800,000. They are most numerous in Romania or Rumelia: then in Macedonia and Thessaly: less numerous in Bulgaria and Albania, and only thinly spread over Bosnia. In Moldavia and Wallachia, no

Turks have been allowed to dwell since 1829, and in Servia they are confined to the city of Belgrade, where they amount to not more than 6,000.

The majority of the population of European Turkey is composed of Slavonians, amounting, according to Turkish authorities, to 7,200,000, but by others stated to be nearly 9,000,000. They are composed of the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, Croats in Turkish Croatia or Carnia, and the Morlachs in the Herzegovine.

Next in number to the Slavonians are the Rumelians or Romani, to whom the Moldavians and Wallachians belong, 4,000,000 in number, who call themselves Rumuryi, and who, though not actually descendants of the Romans, were greatly influenced by their intercourse with that nation, especially as regards the language, which is derived from the Latin. This is seen from the fact that if a Moldavo-Wallachian peasant is addressed in Italian, he listens attentively and recognizes the familiar sound.

The number of Albanians or Arnauts is estimated at 1,500,000; for they are not confined to Albania, but are scattered over several other provinces, although their chief place of settlement is Albania. They are descendants of the old Epirotes or Illyrians; other ethnographers, however, assert that they are descendants of the Albanians, who formerly lived in Caucasus, and were identical with the Alans.

The number of Greeks in European Turkey is assumed to be one million. They cannot be regarded as true descendants of the old Hellenes: for centuries they have displayed a strong mixture of the Slavonic element. They are very numerous in Thessaly, Macedonia, the islands, and Constantinople, and are to be met with in all the provinces of the empire.

The number of Armenians is estimated at 400,000. The Armenians, who derive their name from their native country in Asia, whence they dispersed over the whole world in order to devote themselves to their favourite pursuit, commerce, are most numerous in Constantinople and other emporiums of trade.

The Tartars, who are related to the Turks, though differing from them in many respects, have taken up their abode principally at the mouths of the Danube, and in the valleys of the Balkan. They number about 230,000, and are chiefly employed as couriers.

The number of Gipsies in European Turkey is estimated at about 80,000. They are most numerous in Moldavia and Wallachia, and beside this, inhabit a branch of the Balkan, called after them the Tchengive Balkan, in the neighbourhood of Philippopel.

The Jews in European Turkey, where their number is said to be only 70,000, are principally descendants of the Jews expelled from Portugal and Spain. They speak the Lingua Franca, a mixture of Italian,

Spanish, and Turkish, dress in the Turkish fashion, and chiefly reside in the larger cities. Their chief abode is in Constantinople.

With reference to Religion, the population is divided differently from the nationality. The State religion is the Muhammadan, and this is the faith not only of the Turks, but also of the Tartars, and a portion of the Bulgarians, the Bosnians, and the Albanians. According to Turkish statistics they amount to 3,800,000. But although Muhammadanism is the religion of the state, the Christians form the great majority of the population, and they are estimated at 11,630,000. Of these nearly 11,000,000 belong to the Greek church, and consist not only of the Greeks, but of the Moldavians, Wallachians, Servians, and Montenegrins, the majority of the Bulgarians, and a part of the Bosnians and Albanians. The number of Catholics in European Turkey is calculated at 260,000, and to these belong the Croats in Carnia and a part of the Bosnians, Bulgarians, and Albanians, as well as a few Greeks and Armenians. The number of protestants, principally among the Franks, may amount to 5,000.

The ecclesiastical head of the Greek christians is the Patriarch at Constantinople, who has under his jurisdiction, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, and the lower orders of clergy. The Armenian christians have also a Patriarch in Constantinople. The

catholics have two archbishops, and ten bishops. The Lutheran protestants have churches in Constantinople and Bucharest, and the Reformed protestants one in Constantinople. Those Gipsies who live in Moldavia and Wallachia have in the course of time nearly all become Greek christians, but those residing in the Balkan have retained their primitive traditions. The Jews have a Chief Rabbi in Constantinople who possesses a species of patriarchal power, and the other rabbis in Turkey are obedient to his authority.

The climate in European Turkey is generally very healthy and mild, for although the plague and other pestilences formerly raged periodically on the Bosphorus and in the southern provinces, this was not caused by any dangerous miasmas, but the fault generally arose from the uncleanliness and carelessness of the inhabitants, and since the introduction of quarantine measures, pestilences of this nature are becoming gradually rarer. The chief portion of the country lies beneath the 45th degree of latitude, and as the physical climate generally agrees here with the mathematic, the country enjoys in a greater or less degree that happy atmosphere, which while possessing all the charms

of the tropics, has none of their drawbacks, and on the other hand, while having all the energy of the higher latitudes, knows none of their inconveniences. There are certainly some marshy districts, where the inhabitants are exposed to fevers in the hot season, but with a little precaution it is easy to escape them, and strangers do not require to be acclimated in order to remain unattacked by them.

The Balkan range also forms a species of climatic frontier line, as on the northern side of these mountains, the climate is severer than on the southern, where snow is considered a rarity and never lies for any length of time. On the northern side snow not only frequently falls, but at times there is a long duration of frost. In the time of the Emperor Arcadius (who reigned from 395-408) and again in the year 1068, the Black Sea is said to have been frozen for a considerable time; on the first occasion for three weeks. It is even asserted that during the reign of Constantine Kopronymus (741-775) there was a coat of ice on the Bosphorus.

In April and May there is frequent rain; during the summer regular north easterly-winds cool the air, but storms are also frequent in the different seas, and opposite winds are frequently blowing at the same time. To the south of the fortieth degree of latitude, that is in Thessaly and Albania, vegetation is only rarely interrupted, and we may say that an eternal spring prevails there. To the north the oppressive

summer heat is frequently toned down by the breezes blowing from the Euxine.

As regards the external appearance of the country, it is generally of a mountainous character, and plains of any extent are only found in Wallachia, on the Servo-Bulgarian frontier, and in the vicinity of Adrianople. From the Adriatic to the Black Sea a chain of mountains intersects European Turkey, whose eastern spur is called the Balkan or Hæmus, and which falls away in terraces to the north and south. Those on the south have a much more steep, abrupt, and rocky character than the others. A Prussian officer who lately rode over the Balkan remarks on this subject. "From Islenive, on the Bulgaro-Rumelian frontier, the lofty pinnacled mountains looked magnificent. Clouds hung on their summits, while the sun illumined the bare walls of stone, which display the boldest and most picturesque outlines. Before us, on the road to Adrianople, lay an extensive plain, over which we galloped with fresh horses through grass a yard high, and between extremely thorny bushes."

The Hæmus rises to the south of Varna and the Black Sea, to a height of 3,000 feet, and extends as far as Mount Orbelos, which is 9,000 feet in height, and situated to the south-west of Sophia, the capital of Bulgaria. Thence it runs 500 miles further under the name of the Argentaro, Montenegro, and Dinaric Alps, as far as Mount Kleck, 6,500 feet in height. The steep slope in Dalmatia down to the Adriatic sea,

suffers from a great scarcity of drinking water, the soil is not fertile, and the coast deeply indented. There are only a few passes through these wild and forest clad mountains, the principal of which are at Shumla and Sophia. The northern slope of the mountains to the east of the Orbelos is a desolate plateau, exposed to the north winds, with warm and marshy valleys. The littoral on the Dobrudscha may also be termed a plateau, and is not nearly so fertile, or at least so well cultivated, as is generally supposed.

The Dobrudscha forms the north-eastern portion of Bulgaria, between the lower Danube and the Black Sea. The Danube suddenly quits its eastern course below Silistria, and takes a northern one as far as the southern frontier of Moldavia, where it again flows towards the east and the Black Sea. The curve which it makes in this manner contains the Dobrudscha. On seeing upon the map that the Danube, after running so many miles in an eastern direction, suddenly makes a curve to the north, so near its mouth, we might be led to suppose it had itself piled up the hills which prevent its direct course from Rassova to the Black Sea. But the fact is that the Dobrudscha is formed of sand and lime strata, which are covered to a certain depth by the soil which the Danube has deposited upon them. On all sides the ground displays the same grey masses of sand and loam, which form the banks of this river through the whole of Hungary, and for miles not the smallest pebble is to be found.

On the other hand, rocks are continually visible in the valleys, and the further we proceed in a northerly direction, higher and more ragged masses of rock rise from the summits of the hills. In the vicinity of Matchin they form a chain of hills of truly alpine formation, though of course of miniature dimensions.

This large country lying between the sea and a navigable river, is the most miserable desert that can be conceived, and the whole of the Dobrudscha can hardly contain more than 20,000 inhabitants. As far as the eye can reach, not a tree or a bush is visible: the hills are covered with a tall grass, burnt of a yellowish-brown by the sun, and which undulates like the surface of the ocean before the wind; and it is possible to ride long distances, before a miserable village, without trees or gardens, is discovered in some waterless valley. It seems as if the enlivening element of water had sunk into the loose soil, for in the valleys not a trace of a dried-up watercourse is to be found. The water can only be procured from wells of considerable depth. The Romans ever regarded the Dobrudscha as a country which ought to be given up to the northern barbarians, and separated it from Mœsia by a wall running from the neighbourhood of Rassova to Kustendje. During the campaigns of 1812 and 1828, the Dobrudscha suffered considerably. At least a third of the villages entered on the maps are no longer in existence, though not entirely in consequence of the war. Hirsova contains only 30 houses, and Isakdji

and Tultcha have retired from 1,000 to 3,000 paces from their old position.

The above-mentioned Prussian officer makes the following remarks about the Dobrudscha. "After man had driven his fellow-man from this region, it appears to have been given up to the kingdom of beasts. I never saw so many and so powerful eagles as here. They were so bold that we could almost hit them with our riding-whips, and only angrily rose for a moment from their seats on the graves of the old Huns. Countless covies of partridges rose with a loud whirr almost under the feet of our horses, out of the thin grass, where a hawk was generally circling round them. Large flocks of rooks rose lazily from the ground, while long processions of cranes and wild-geese traversed the air.

"Many thousand sheep and goats are driven annually from Transylvania and the military frontier, in order to graze here. For the permission, four paras per head are paid, and one animal in fifty. In the marshes on the Danube the buffalos were standing with only their snouts projecting from the mud, and ownerless dogs, resembling wolves, roamed about through the fields. We rode past an island, on which mares were grazing; when they saw us approach, they commenced whinnying, and some of the colts bounded into the river to swim across to us. The ducks were startled from the reeds, and a flock

of wild swans, rising with their heavy wings, rippled the mirror-like surface of the stream.

"The whole scene resembled a landscape by Everding or Ruysdael. Lower down the Danube the aspect of the country becomes pleasanter, the islands are covered with a thick growth of osiers : the confluents of the river resemble lakes, and at last the country widens into an immense sea of reeds, in which vessels are seen slowly moving. The steep white banks of Bessarabia can scarcely be distinguished on the opposite side. In the centre of this desolate present, the remains of the past stand out boldly in relief. Here the Romans have imprinted their name with indestructible marks on the soil. The frontier wall, which is double, in some places treble, and built by the emperor Trajan, still exists to a height of eight or ten feet. On the outer side is the ditch, and on the inner lie large chiselled masses of stone, which appear to have formed a powerful wall : the western part of these works is defended in front by the lakes and swampy valleys of Karassu, but from the village of Burlak, the external wall runs to the east and is everywhere built without any regard to the terrain, while the inner or southern wall runs behind the other at unequal distances of 100 to 2000 paces. At various points in the rear, the traces of the camp are found, whose form and entrances can still be distinctly traced.

"The district from Rassova to Kustendje is also re-

markable on another account. The long and connected succession of lakes forming the Karassu or Black waters, has led to the idea whether the course of the Danube had not formerly run through this district, and had been eventually diverted from its original course by some convulsion of nature. In fact the ground below the lakes forms a gentle slope, and in one of the valleys near the sea, to the south of Kustendje, loam and pebbles are found in lieu of rocks. A few years back the question was mooted whether the Danube, or at least a canal, could be led along the Trajan wall. It was consequently a highly interesting fact to determine the different elevations of the Danube at Rassova and of the sea of Kustendje, and further the absolute height of the lowest ridge above these points. As regards the former pretended course of the Danube, the ground does not display a trace of it. On the contrary, the ridge has not the slightest interruption or considerable indentation, and the Danube leaves its original direction, about fives miles above Czernavoda, in almost a rectangular direction. On the other hand it is certainly possible to make a canal, but it would require an outlay of several millions. Captain Von V—— discovered the height of the lowest indentation of the ground between the sea and the lakes pouring into the Danube, to be about 166 Prussian feet. As there is no water at this height, from which the channel could be fed, it must derive its water from the Danube itself, or at least

from the lakes which have an elevation of seventeen feet above it. Consequently, but few locks would be requisite: but on the other hand, it would be indispensable that the canal should be cut to a depth of at least 130 feet, for a distance of ten or fifteen miles. In addition to this, some very expensive building would be requisite, for the harbour of Kustendje has become so silted, from the ships throwing out their ballast there for centuries, that it has become almost useless. The trade of the Danube would have to become much brisker, and considerabe impediments must be placed in its way at the Sulina mouths, ere such a plan could be carried out."

The western portion of the Balkan, which at Hirsova forms the Demir Capi, or the Irongate, is thickly wooded, and contains rich and fertile valleys. The plains of Wallachia are also very fertile, but their cultivation was sadly neglected before the year 1829.

The eastern portion of the southern declivity of the Balkan encloses extensive plains, which are extraordinarily fertile but also poorly cultivated. A spur of the range terminates on the Chalcidian peninsula of Macedonia in Mount Athos or Monte Santo, which is 4,000 feet high.

In the south of Servia, and in the vicinity of Mount Skardus, lies the fertile plateau of Kossovo or the Amselfeld, known in history, especially through the defeat and death of King Lazarus in 1389, and

in 1448 by the defeat of the brave Hunyadi, who was forced to yield to Murat II.

Of the above mentioned Argentaro mountains, a chain extends southwards to the Gulf of Lepanto, of which the highest is the Mezzovo or Pindus, 7,000 feet high, in the vicinity of Yanina, but in the south forms fertile plateaus. The western declivity, Albania, is an Alpine country with a very pure atmosphere. The mountains are partly barren, but the slopes are thickly wooded; they contain numerous lakes and pasture lands, on which fine cattle and the best horses in the Turkish peninsula are reared: the vallies are fertile, and widen out into extensive plains near the Gulf of Arta. The Eastern declivity forms extensive, rich plains, and is enclosed by the Voluzza or Cambunian Mountains, of which Olympus rises to the height of 6,000 feet, and by Mount Ossa, Pelion and Œta.

European Turkey possesses, with the exception of a few mountainous districts, a very fertile soil, or to speak more correctly, the country is gifted to an extraordinary degree by nature. The vegetable kingdom furnishes corn, fruit, wine, olives, cotton, tobacco, and an immense quantity of walnut wood. The mineral kingdom possesses the noble and ignoble metals, salt, coals, &c., and in the animal kingdom, the most prominent objects are horses, oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, poultry and game of every description, silkworms, bees, &c.

But though nature has so richly endowed this country, man has regardlessly converted her gifts into a curse, innumerable fields lie fallow, the forests have been destroyed, and the most fertile, fairest districts have been changed into a desolate wilderness. As a late writer on Turkey, who is highly prepossesed in its favour, remarks: "On entering the interior of Turkey the eye is saddened by the perpetual contrast between the richness and the neglect of the soil. In no other place do the gifts of God, distributed with equal profusion, accuse in such a heartrending manner, the negligence and ingratitude of man."

THE NATURAL AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTIONS OF TURKEY.

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As regards natural productions, wheat, barley, and oats are principally cultivated in Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, and some districts of Bulgaria, rice principally along the banks of the Maritza, maize and millet in various parts, but chiefly in Macedonia and Thessaly.

Agriculture, however, is on a very low footing. Only so much land is usually cultivated in Turkey, as is sufficient to satisfy their requirements for the year. At least a tenth of the arable land is permitted to lie fallow, the regular succession of crops is unknown, and the people of Constantinople would suffer great want, were it not for the importation of Russian corn. Flax and hemp are cultivated in the northern provinces, saffron, sweetwood, and Spanish pepper in the southern. Fruits flourish best in Thessaly, Southern Albania, on the islands, and in some parts of Macedonia, and Roumelia.

Nearly a million of gallons of wine are annually

made in Moldavia alone, as well as great quantities in Wallachia, and indeed, in nearly all the provinces. The mildness of the climate, and the excellence of the soil make up for the deficiency in regular cultivation. If well treated, the Turkish wines would become superior to the Hungarian. In Southern Turkey raisins are dried, and a species of brown syrup, called peckmez, made. Olives grow to a considerable extent in Thessaly, Southern Albania, and on the Islands. Poppies are also cultivated for the preparation of opium.

Cotton* is cultivated in Macedonia and Thessaly, as well as in Candia, in such large quantities, that a considerable amount is annually exported. The tobacco grown in Turkey is considered by connoisseurs the best in Europe. The best description is the Macedonian, grown in the neighbourhood of Thessalonichi. Flowers, more especially roses, are cultivated with great care, and in large quantities.

Great quantities of walnut wood are furnished by the extensive forests in the Northern and Western provinces, among which the most considerable is the Forest of Belgrade, so called after a village in the

* The annual cotton crop, of which there are four sorts or qualities in commerce, is estimated at 50,000 bales, which, at an average of 500 pounds, amount to 25,000,000 pounds: the export trade requires 12 to 15,000 bales: the interior of Anatolia consumes 8,000: and lastly the manufactories of Magnesia, Candia and Aidin, work up about 10,000 bales.—*Ubicini, Lettres sur la Turquie.*

vicinity of Constantinople. The Turks, however, are ignorant of arboriculture, and the forests are gradually decreasing. The other vegetable productions deserving mention are—pistachois, sumach, gall apples, gum, soda, &c.

Rearing cattle, which is greatly promoted by the excellent pasturage, is carried on with greater zeal and more success than agriculture. Horses—principally of Tartar descent, and much valued (partly of the Polish breed in Wallachia and Moldavia), cattle (in large herds and universally met with), buffalos (as draught animals), sheep (in extraordinary numbers: in Wallachia alone, there are above six millions, and great quantities of wool are exported from Thessalonichi); goats (whose milk is used for the manufacture of cheese), pigs (principally in Servia, which country exported nearly one and a quarter millions in 1843, and Bosnia, in both which provinces they are fed on chesnuts, Indian corn and plums): and poultry is reared not only for the necessary consumption, but much is exported: meat, milk, butter, cheese, skins, wool, &c., are abundantly supplied. In the mountainous districts, the shepherd rises continually higher with his flock, as the heat increases, and returns in the same manner through the autumn, until he arrives in the valley in November, and passes the winter there. Stall feeding is not practised. Immense flocks of sheep and goats are driven from Transylvania and the Banat, into Wallachia and Bulgaria,

where they graze, and a proportionally small sum is paid for the right of pasturage.

Mules and asses are not common, and camels are only seen in the vicinity of Constantinople, and on the Lower Danube. There are many varieties of game, of which only the hare-skins form an object of exportation. Bees are reared to an immense extent in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Macedonia, and the honey and wax are splendid: silk worms are principally met with in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Candia. There are immense quantities of leeches, which form a considerable article of export, principally from Bosnia and Albania. Fish are numerous in the Danube, and on the seaboard: and considerable quantities of salt fish have recently become an article of the export trade. Caviare is also prepared and exported.

As regards the productions of the mineral kingdom, it is highly probable that Wallachia possesses large treasures of the noble and ignoble metals. The streams bring down so much gold, that the gipsies pay their Government tax with it: quicksilver bubbles up in some spots from the ground, and salt forms a chief article of the Imperial revenue. But there are scarcely any signs of even an attempt at mining. Some persons have attempted to explain this want of enterprizing spirit by secret treaties, but the true reason is that mining demands the investment of a large capital, which requires time to become pro-

ductive. An hereditary prince would not fear such an outlay, but an electoral prince, especially if he is not certain of enjoying the Government for the whole of his life, feels no inclination to set about expensive speculations, the profits of which will accrue to a successor, who is probably an entire stranger to him.

At any rate, as the mineral riches of the Turkish empire may be regarded as inexhaustible, it only requires capital and support from the Government to derive immense profits from them. The only mines which are at present thoroughly worked are those of the district of Tokat, in Asia Minor, where Austrian miners are employed, in consequence of a treaty with the cabinet of Vienna. Copper, iron, calamine, &c., are found in large quantities and of excellent quality. There are copper works at several spots near the Turkish capital, for instance, on the Northern slopes of the Valley of Roses, but they are not worked to any depth.

Thus nature has endowed Turkey with metallic treasures and other minerals, but, unfortunately, the country derives but slight profit from it. The best works in European Turkey, are the copper and lead mines at Karatova and Larogori, in Macedonia, at Egri Palanka, Klissura, Samakov and a few in Bosnia. But there is a great want of miners and engineers. Noble metals are found abundantly not only in Wallachia, but also in Bosnia, Roumelia, &c., but at the present time only very small quantities are obtained.

Mines of quicksilver are found in Wallachia, and at Foinicza, Sutisska, and Kressivo in Bosnia, but are not properly worked. Large quantities of iron are smelted in Bosnia and Servia.

Rock salt and liquid salt are principally met with in Wallachia (at Rimnik 6,500 tons are annually produced): and in Moldavia. Besides this, sea salt is also extracted at various points on the sea board. There are great quantities of mineral waters, both warm and cold. In addition to this we may mention calcareous and lemnian earth, meerschaum, saltpetre and coal. The Turkish coals are certainly inferior to the English; and those on the Danube are only employed by steamers navigating that river. But Turkey possesses large strata of coal, and the most valuable are those at Heracli, in the vicinity of Trebizonde, which if properly worked would be a source of great profit.

In 1841, an English company wished to undertake the working of these mines, and had them examined by professional men. It was found that the beds of coal were very extensive and of various qualities: that the yield of those mines already in work could be increased fourfold, and that if the use of the mines were conceded to the company for thirty years, Turkey would obtain a perennial source of revenue. By the gradual introduction of good miners, Turkey could in time become perfectly independent of other countries. But though the advantages seemed so certain, the Turkish Government would not enter into the

matter. Other coal mines are found at Rodosto, on the sea of Marmora, &c., in the vicinity of Constantinople.

As regards industrial productions, trade is almost exclusively restricted to the larger towns: Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonichi, Rustchuk, Seres, Schumla, &c. The Turkish Government, with all its good will, has been unable to do much for the promotion of the industrial arts.

The more refined trades, as for instance watchmaking and jewellery, are only exercised by Greeks and Franks, and they import nearly all they require. The Turks employ watermills generally with horizontal wheels; but maize, seed, and salt are pounded with handmills. They are also acquainted with saw, tobacco, and powder mills.

Many artizans in Turkey, carpenters, joiners, saddlers, bookbinders, &c., are on a very low footing, as they only work after the Turkish fashion. Even the tailors and shoemakers are poor workmen: and the finer descriptions of clothing are made by European workmen. There are no Turkish architects: the owner generally builds his own house, or employs Greeks, Armenians, and Franks.

The Turkish bread and confectionary makers, the butchers, and workers in metal, especially black, white, and gun smiths, understand their trade much better. The last made excellent blades, which were not at all inferior to those of Damascus. Muhammad II

founded a manufactory for sabres and other side arms, and placed in it the Syrian armourers enrolled among his Janissaries, to whom he conceded various privileges. This gave the deathblow to the manufactories in Damascus. The manufactory at Galata near the Chalkgate (Kiredch Kapussi) furnished excellent blades, which were termed by the armourers Eski-Stamboul, or old Constantinople. Bajazet II, Solyman and their successors greatly favoured this manufactory; and Murad IV, who removed it in 1631 to a building on the east side of the Bezestein, constantly wore a sabre made in this manufactory, and ordered all his officers and attendants to follow his example. In an apartment of the Palace of Top Kapussi near Abd-ul-Hamid's bath, there is a collection of sabres and poniards, which principally belonged to the Sultans Muhammad I and Selim III: they are set in jewels and were made in Persia. At the present day, the blades made at the Imperial manufactories and by private armourers in Turkey, are inferior to those in Western Europe.

The Turkish tanners are remarkably clever, especially in making cordovan and Spanish leather. The weaving of coarse cloth and silk, as well as embroidery executed by women, are excellent, but cannot compete in price with foreign manufactories. Shawls are not made in Turkey, but the so-called Turkish shawls come from Persia and Cashmir, the ordinary sorts from England and France. The Turkish carpets are celebrated, as well as the beauty of their colours.

The Turkish red-dye is well-known. The Jews and Greeks are very well skilled in upholsterer's work. The Luladgilis or people who make pipe-bowls of clay or meerschaum are very numerous.

The Greeks distil brandy from plums, and great quantities of rose-water are prepared in Turkey.

As regards other trades, the manufacture of soap is very considerable. Potash and saltpetre are especially found in the northern part of European Turkey. Charcoal is made in Macedonia and Bosnia. The charcoal consumed in Constantinople comes from the forests on the coasts of the Black Sea, and Sea of Marmora (at Silivri or Silivria), and is brought to the capital partly in little vessels, partly on camels, each of which bears a load of four hundred-weight. The hundred-weight costs about ten-pence. The mangals or charcoal vessels occupy in Constantinople and other parts of Turkey the place of chimnies and stoves. They are of copper and brass, splendidly polished, and generally shaped like a rose: but beside these there are long quandrangular ones standing on four feet.

About the original invention of the mangals, various opinions prevail among the Turks. Some believe that Nimrod was the inventor, for he had ordered a great copper vessel to be made, while building the Tower of Babel, and had it filled with charcoal, for the purpose of warming himself. Others assert, on the contrary, that an old woman in Kufa,

from whose stove the deluge emanated, was the first to use the mangal: while others consider Noah the inventor.

The principal manufactories of paper are at Constantinople and Smyrna, but the greater portion of the paper employed in Turkey, is obtained from other countries. Within a few years, there were only five printing presses in European Turkey: at Constantinople, Belgrade, Bucharest, Jassy and Atigni (in Montenegro); in the three first cities there are also type foundries. The Imperial Printing Office in Constantinople has only existed since 1726. The prejudices which exist in all Muhammadan countries, against the mechanical reduplication of the Koran and other similar works, were also extended to scientific or useful books, and prevented the introduction of the art of printing for nearly 300 years after its discovery. The opposition of the Ulema, Chalifs, and Sultans was less founded on religious scruples, than on the fact that they did not wish to deprive the numerous and influential copiers of a monopoly.

In 1726, Achmet III, a zealous friend of literature, issued a decree, by which he ordered the establishment of a Printing Office in the Turkish capital. The Jews and Armenians had possessed presses since the end of the sixteenth century, in the houses of their chief priests, but they were only used for printing religious works. This edict was based on a Fetva of the Sheikh-ul-Islam (Grand Mufti) Abd-ullah Effendi,

who, like the Grand Vizier, Ibraham Pacha, was a great promoter of these changes, which were also supported by the written assent of the principal Ulema and Judges. After mention had been made in the edict, of the destruction caused partly by fire, and partly by the different conquerors, in Syria, Bagdad, and Spain, by which many valuable collections of rare works, of which there were no copies extant, were destroyed, and ever lost for religion and science: it was further stated, that only a few copies of good works were left, that the prices were exorbitantly dear, that it was impossible to procure many works, and that it would be of the greatest advantage, not only for science, but for the interests of society, to establish a Printing Office, by which rapidity of reproduction might be united with economy.

In order to gain over the Ulema, printing the Koran, the oral traditions, the canonical and juridical works, as well as the commentaries on them, was forbidden. As the reason for this, it was stated that an apprehension was felt lest these works, and especially the sacred books, might be falsified. By this edict also two directors of the new institution were appointed, for which the Government advanced the funds. The one was a Hungarian renegade, interpreter and adjutant to the Porte, who assumed the name of Ibrahim Pacha, and afterwards received the surname of Basmadji, or the Printer. The other was Muhammad Said Effendi, secretary in the corre-

sponding department of the office of the Grand Vizier, and not less zealously attached to science. Both received a regular salary, and the Minister and Grand Vizier supported them in every way. Four of the most respected judges were appointed censors, and Sultan Achmet, who only survived his institution three years, very frequently visited the printing-office, and encouraged the directors and their German assistants.

Muhammad I followed his example. Still, in spite of the zealousness of the two directors, and the support of the Government, the printing proceeded very slowly. The difficulty of finding competent compositors and the want of type, which was all founded in Venice, were so great, that in 1743, or after seventeen years, only seventeen works had been printed. In 1747, after the death of the inspector, Kadi Ibrahim, the printing-office was closed, and not opened again till 1755. Then, however, nothing was printed for a considerable time, until the year 1784, when the Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid ordered the printing-offices to be restored. The edict relative to this, which is still preserved in the archives, runs as follows:—"As the immeasurable benefits of printing are universally recognised, and the inaccuracy and errors of the copyists are unendurable, his Imperial Majesty has determined on carrying out a project which has been hitherto impeded by the great embarrassments under which the empire has been suffer-

ing. Muhammad Raschid Effendi, Beiliksji (chancellor), and Achmet Vassif Effendi, historiographer of the empire, are directed to purchase from the widow of Kadi Ibraham the printing apparatus which is lying rusted and forgotten. They are empowered by two Imperial diplomas of the 18th Rebi-ul-Evvel to erect new presses, under the chief inspection of the Minister of the Vakuf, and under the direction of the learned man of the law, Mustapha Effendi, and the pious man, Adam Effendi. This is done, as ordered."

From 1783 to 1828, eighty new works were brought out, forming a total of ninety-one volumes, of which M. Bianchi, formerly secretary and interpreter of Oriental languages, has given a list, in his appendix to a notice of Chani Zade's 'Treatise on Anatomy;' and M. von Hammer has quoted it in the fourteenth volume of his 'History of the Ottoman Empire.' One of the most curious, if not through its intrinsic value, at least through its novelty, was the work of Chani Zade, called 'The Mirror of the Body in the Anatomy of the Members,' and which appeared, accompanied by plates representing the body and the different limbs. In spite of the opposition entertained by the Turks against dissection, Sultan Mahmud not only allowed the publication of the work, but granted it the favour of appearing from the Imperial press.

From 1830 to 1842, M. Bianchi drew up a new

list, which he had the kindness to show M. Ubicini in MS. This list, collated with various extracts from the catalogues published at Vienna by Von Hammer, and contributed by him to the 'Asiatic Journal,' furnishes a total of about 108 works. The most noteworthy among them are—'An Abridgement of the Annals of the Empire,' and a Turkish translation of the play of Belisarius, represented at Pera in 1842, without the author's name.

Since 1842 the number of printed books has progressively increased. New presses have been established at Constantinople and in some of the larger cities of the empire. While the ancient printing-office at Scutari has been improved and restored, the creation of the 'State Gazette' compelled the formation of a new type foundry, and works can now be printed in the principal languages of Europe and the East.

The history of journalism in Turkey is so curious, that we will quote M. Ubicini's valuable account of it:

The creator of journalism in Turkey was a Frenchman, M. Alexandre Blacque, who arrived at Smyrna in the beginning of 1825, and established the 'Spectateur de l'Orient.' Still, the idea was not entirely original. Verninhac, envoy extraordinary from the French Republic to Selim III, brought out for some time a gazette in French, which was printed under his direction at the French palace in Pera. But this

publication was not continued. In 1811, during the Russian campaign, extracts from the bulletins of the grand army were printed and distributed from the French palace on the arrival of each bulletin. The 'Spectateur de l'Orient,' which soon assumed the name of the 'Courrier de Smyrne,' was, consequently, the first periodical and political paper which appeared in Turkey, and it exercised, under this new title, a marked influence upon the events which distinguished the close of the Greek insurrection from 1825 to 1828. When the whole of the European press was furiously applauding the recent declaration of independence, and summoned the whole world to a crusade against the Turks, the 'Courier of Smyrna' alone constantly defended the rights and interests of the Porte, and contributed largely to the overthrow, and, perhaps, to the assassination of Capo d'Istrias.

1831, M. Blacque, summoned to Constantinople by the Sultan Mahmud, established in that city the 'Moniteur Ottoman,' the official journal of the Sublime Porte, in French. In the following year, the 'Takvimi Vakaï', or Table of Events, appeared, which was in some measure a reprint in Turkish of the 'Moniteur Ottoman.' There was, however, this distinction between the two papers, that the latter was confined, as it is at the present day, to the publication of the decrees of the Government, while the 'Moniteur Ottoman' had in addition to its official

columns, non-official ones—open to the discussion and defence of the interests of the Porte.

In 1836, M. Blacque died suddenly at Malta, while on a voyage to France. His two successors on the 'Moniteur Ottoman' also died suddenly within two years and a half, and public opinion, startled by this mysterious coincidence, suspected a political reason, when it was, probably, the mere effect of chance. The journal lingered on for a few years, when its place was taken by the 'Djeridei Havadiss.' The 'Takvimi Vakaï' remained the sole official paper.

M. Blacque, on giving up the 'Courier of Smyrna,' had handed it over to M. Bousquet-Deschamps, who changed its title again into that of the 'Journal de Smyrne.' The city of Smyrna, which had been the first to possess a journal, soon boasted of five.

The second was the 'Echo de l'Orient,' also in French, founded in 1838 by M. Bargigli, Consul General of Tuscany, and which afterwards passed into the hands of M. Couturier, a French merchant. Sometime afterwards, M. Edwards, a former contributor to M. Deschamp's journal, created a third paper, under the title of the 'Impartiel de Smyrne,' originally published in English, afterwards in French.

The 'Impartiel' is the only one of these three papers published in French, which has held its ground in Smyrna. The 'Journal de Smyrne,' and the 'Echo de l'Orient' were successively transferred to

Constantinople, when they were united, and appeared every five days, under the title of the 'Journal de Constantinople, Echo de l'Orient' (1846). Several new papers were soon established in Smyrna, two in Greek, one in Armenian, and the fourth in Hebrew.

In Constantinople the numbers of journals progressively increased, under the paternal care of the Government, and thirteen now appear in that city—two in Turkish—four in French—four in Italian—one in Greek—one in Armenian, and one in Bulgarian.

The 'Takvimi Vakaï' is published at the expense of the Government. The majority of the other papers, at least those discussing politics, receive an annual subvention of 30,000 piastres apiece.

Several other journals are also published, either in French, or in the language of the country, at Belgrade, Beyrout, Alexandria, &c., forming a total, including the capital, of thirty-two or thirty-three periodical journals.

THE MERCANTILE CONDITION OF TURKEY.

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After the commercial relations existing during the middle ages between the cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Ratisbon, and the countries of the lower Danube, had been interrupted by the Turkish invasion of Europe, these extensive districts, though so highly favoured by nature, remained for ages sunk in barbarism, and even at the close of the last century were scarcely known to the European mercantile world, except through the Armenian, Greek, and Jewish dealers from Jassy and Bucharest, who appeared at Leipzig fair, and by the active retail trade, which speculative merchants had carried on since time immemorial from Cronstadt in Transylvania as far as the Balkans.

The Turkish territory, however, was still a *terra incognita* to commerce, for the Danube was closed against navigation through the terrors of the iron gate on the frontiers of the Banat, but even more by the quarantine system. The sea route, on the other hand,

was restricted by the Turkish system of administration, which permitted no export of the natural productions of the Danubian Principalities *vid* Constantinople, only a small portion of the soil was cultivated, justice was on a most insecure footing, and the scanty population was decimated and impoverished by internal disturbances, pestilences, and the desolation of the continual wars.

The invasion of the Turks had an equally disadvantageous effect on the Pontic route, and the relations of European Perso-Indian traffic. Among the routes leading from Europe to Asia, the Pontic, *i. e.* the one which runs along the north-eastern coast of Asia Minor, and there divides, is one of the oldest and most important. Employed at a very early period by Greek colonists, the Genoese and Venetians brought it into still higher reputation. The ruins of fortified factories, which these industrious mercantile nations built on the most important points of the coast, are still left to show the extent of their trade; the docks are still partially visible which served to protect their gallies, and evince the care which they devoted to the navigation of these inhospitable shores, which are not naturally provided with harbours. At the same time the rumour is still rife that rich caravans visited the factories to exchange their wares for Frankish articles, and carry the latter in turn to the very heart of Asia.

The prosperous condition of that age was terminated

by the Turkish invasion. The Frank settlements were partly destroyed, and partly voluntarily given up; with them the foreign trade aud the caravans ceased, and the old Pontic commercial route was forgotten. Since that time only an inconsiderable coasting trade has been carried on between the different seaports, consisting of local articles requisite for daily consumption.

How, when, and through what cause the commercial condition on the lower Danube, and the north-eastern littoral of Asia Minor have changed, we will now proceed to inquire. In the first place, however, we will take an historical glance at the European commercial relations in the middle ages, with those countries now forming components of the Turkish empire, in order that we may have an opportunity to compare the past with the present, and form an idea as to what these countries might become, with a regular system of administration, and under a government really caring for the prosperity of its subjects.

After the fall of the West Roman Empire in 476, the East Roman remained in existence nearly a thousand years, though becoming gradually smaller in the course of time and being at last confined to its capital, Constantinople.

If, on one hand, the great migration of the nations which produced the fall of the West Roman Empire, caused much confusion in western trade, and on the other, eastern trade found a valuable market in the

east itself, still all the branches of trade met in the west, and under such circumstances, it was quite natural that Constantinople, not merely through its excellent natural situation, but also through its position on the borders of the east and west, should become the emporium for the merchandise of both lands. Here, at the same time, trade was promoted by the luxury of the magnificent Greek or East Roman court, and received a great impulse, when, during the reign of Justinian (527-565, A.D.) missionaries brought silkworms' eggs from China in hollow staves to Constantinople, and thus introduced the silk trade into the empire. After Justinian, the active trade in the Mediterranean extended to the North African shores which this Emperor had re-captured. On the other hand, the Indian trade was carried on intermediately, first through the Persians, and then through the Arabians.

The articles belonging to the eastern trade which were imported into Constantinople immediately from Syria, Egypt, and Independent Tartary, as long as this city was the emporium of the eastern portion of Europe (which lasted from the era of the first appearance of the Arabs on the scene to the end of the crusade), were as follows. Egyptian stuffs, half silk stuffs and linen; Egyptian sweet beverages, probably made of dates and figs; sugar, dates and cassia, from Egypt; raw silk, from the same country and other eastern lands; flax from Egypt; drugs,

Indian spices and pepper, which was immensely used in the middle ages; Indian jewels and pearls; silver, imported by the Genoese, probably from Spain; Pisan stuffs, principally scarlet cloth and fustian. If it is not expressly stated of some of these articles that they were carried to Constantinople, still it is highly probable that they went there, as the province of Romania was the market for them.

Western goods, both Greek and transit wares from the North and North-west of Europe, exported from Constantinople to the east as far as India, and at times to Italy, were as follows: Greek purple cloth, by which velvet was principally meant in the middle ages; other Grecian silk wares; walnuts, saffron, oil, iron, building wood, pitch, honey (from the North); gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, quicksilver, wool, cloths, linen, arms (from the North-west); slaves, both male and female (from the North and North-west).

It is worth mentioning that the export of the cloth for the splendid purple robes, which was principally made in Constantinople, was forbidden, in order to keep the prices down. No piece of cloth for a robe, in value above fifty pieces of gold, could be exported; the permission was only given in special cases. The court retained the privilege of presenting this cloth to foreign Regents. Similar goods, when of less value, were examined and had a seal attached to them before they were allowed to pass the frontier.

Bishop Luitprand of Cremona, who was sent by the German Emperor, Otho I, on a special embassy to Constantinople, tried to take five of these mantles with him ; he was betrayed, and the mantles confiscated without any respect to the law of nations. However, the crafty Venetians and the traders of Amalfi contrived to smuggle these goods out, and this mere fact is sufficient to prove that they must have been of Grecian manufacture.

The Avarians, Bulgarians, and Hungarians were, from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, in successive possession of the trade of Constantinople and the North-western countries of Europe.

Until the commencement of the ninth century, the Avarians occupied the Danubian provinces, between the German and Byzantine empires, and carried on the trade between Constantinople and Lorch in Upper Austria, not far from the confluence of the Enns and the Danube. In participation with their neighbours, the Wends, the Avarians carried the Eastern or Greek goods to Lorch, which were then spread over Germany as far as the Netherlands or Scandinavia, and received the German exports in exchange. It is not known whether their active trade extended as far as Constantinople, or whether the Greek merchants came to meet them. How trade extends light and life among nations, but frequently a light which finally blinds them, a cup full of enjoyment which leads to destruction, is shewn

by the example of the Avarians. Through the lively trade, this nation acquired a considerable amount of knowledge, and was considered by the Greeks the most enlightened among the barbarians. In comparison with the rough condition of the advancing Bulgarians, the social developement of the Avarians was a species of civilization. They were entirely subjugated by the hostile tribes, and prisoners who were taken before the Prince of the victors, stated, upon the inquiry as to the cause of the weakness and fall of their nation, that the development of commerce was the principal source of their misfortunes.

The Bulgarians took their place in a mercantile and political point of view, and maintained it from the ninth to the eleventh century. We know that they carried on an active trade with Constantinople, and acquired riches which excited the envy of the Greek merchants. Two Constantinopolitan houses, Stauracius and Kosmas, who were the most jealous of them, formed the plan of depriving the Bulgarians of the Pannonian trade, and as this nation possessed the territorial authority on the Danube, to carry it by a circuitous route by Thessalonica. Zautzas, the father of the Greek emperor, Leo the Wise, had an eunuch who was all-powerful with his weak master. This man the two houses gained to their side. His influence with Zautzas procured for the formers of the cabal the receipt of the customs on the route to Pannonia. The new receivers now laid most

immoderate duties on the Bulgarian merchants, in order to drive them from Constantinople. The Bulgarians laid complaints before their Prince Simeon. Leo, bound down by paternal authority, neglected the representations of the Bulgarian regent. At length Simeon took up arms, and a tedious and most destructive war broke out, through the envy of a few Greek mercantile houses.

After the loss of their independence, in 1019, the Bulgarians gradually gave up all active commerce. Their neighbours, the Hungarians, occupied the vacant place, and carried on the active Hungarian and transit trade with Germany, till the last half of the 12th century. They visited the market at Constantinople, and reestablished the communication between it and the German Danubian countries. The Hungarian merchants must have either remained a considerable time in Constantinople, or built factories there, as their King Stephen I, or the Saint, who died in 1038, built them a magnificent church in that city. The fact that the Greek gold coinage was in circulation in Hungary, and that the national prosperity increased greatly till the commencement of the 12th century, seems to prove that the Hungarians gained by the trade with Constantinople.

As regards the Eastern trade, the transit of goods through Mesopotamia and Syria was practised in the old Roman period, and was greatly promoted by the Caliph Omar (634, 643), who understood

the advantages of commerce, by the foundation, or rather rebuilding, of Bassora. Although the Italian seaports, especially Venice, afterwards more frequently received their Indian wares through Syria, still they did not neglect the route *viâ* Alexandria: but considerable merchant fleets were sent there. Besides Venice, the towns which took chief advantage of their situation to carry on the Eastern trade, were Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi. Amalfi must have been the first to carry on trade with Egypt and India, for European fabrics were first carried thence into those countries. Several circumstances specially favoured the Italians; the frequent wars between the Greeks and Arabs were favourable epochs for the Genoese and Venetians.

The government of Venice was sufficiently enlightened and active, even at the close of the 10th century, to gain possession of the intermediate trade by treaties with the Greek court and the Saracen princes. Another circumstance also raised the courage of the indefatigable Italians. Factions, internal disorders, and the weakness of the government, gradually entailed the ruin of the Greek marine. The Greek merchant could not procure an armed convoy for his ships, in order to fetch the goods of the east from neutral ports : and even if the maritime power of his fatherland remained of considerable importance up to the 12th century, still the policy of the Greek court was not mercantile, or careful of the promotion of

trade, as was the case in the Italian mercantile states. The enterprising spirit of the Greek merchant was also unmistakably checked by the fact that freedom from taxation on all exports and imports was granted to the Venetians in 1085, a concession as cheering to them as it was dispiriting to the Greeks.

Finally, the system of monopolies dating from Justinian, did no little part in causing the want of mercantile enterprise in the Greeks, and increasing it among the Italians. For Justinian had withdrawn not only the silk trade, but the sale of the most necessary provisions, especially corn, from private persons, so that the subject could no longer buy wheat from a farmer, but was forced to obtain his supplies from the officers who had the management of this branch, who themselves grew rich at the expense of their customers. This financial pressure lasted for nearly 500 years, and hence, in the history of the first crusade, the provisioning of the Frankish troops is generally mentioned as the business of the Greek Emperor, *i. e.* the Financial Authorities. It was only by special permission of the Emperor, that they, on a few occasions, obtained their supplies from private persons, who, for instance, undertook to execute a large contract for the army occupying Antioch.

In proportion as the Byzantine vessels retired from the Ægean and Mediterranean, the restless Italians occupied their place. The Constantinopolitan Merchants

more and more confined their trade to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, and left the passage through the Hellespont almost entirely to the Italians. The Venetians were the boldest among these. From the commencement of the ninth century, we find, not merely traces of commerce carried on between Venice and Constantinople, but also with Syria and Egypt.

In the meanwhile, the conquests of the Arabs in the East had gradually extended, and many of the occupiers of the Greek throne, deeply felt, not only politically, the loss of their fair provinces in Asia Minor, but in a religious point of view, the occupation of the promised land by Pagans. They showed their anger in the interdict, that no arms, iron, walnut wood and other articles indispensable in war, should be sold to the enemies of the state and religion: a prohibition which in former times had been considered a good plan to restrain the Barbarians on the northern coast of the Black Sea.

When the Greek Emperors, Leo V and John I passed this measure against the Arabs in Syria and Egypt, they negociated for the purpose with the Venetian Senate, and obtained the public prohibition of this traffic, by a fine of one hundred pounds of gold: and they were so short-sighted as not to think of the inevitable smuggling that would ensue. The opposite case was, however, much more frequent, when the Greek government yielded to the entreaties of the Greeks, and were repaid with ingratitude

and impudence. At the end of the tenth century, Venice obtained for its citizens, who traded to Constantinople, considerable privileges and rights, which were inducements for the extension of the spice trade. Alexius I Comnenus, who lived during the first crusade, granted to the Republicans, in return for certain military assistance, considerable possessions in the Byzantine capital, in addition to the free trade they enjoyed. Many Venetians now settled there, and married into the highest families.

The commercial connexion between Venice and Constantinople, was, for the first time, interrupted by political hostilities. This occurred in 1172, when the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, had in vain sought the assistance of the Republic, during a war with William II, King of Sicily. The Senate, in order to guard all Venetian subjects against the Emperor's fury, ordered them home and interdicted all trade with Greek ports, especially with Romania. To the delight of the City, after a few hostile proceedings on the part of the Emperor, a Greek vessel appeared in the lagoons of Venice. Manuel promised to restore the cities he had taken in Dalmatia, and invited the Senate to renew the commerce with his states. The Senate was induced to revoke the prohibition. The activity of the Venetians soon filled the store-houses of Constantinople with merchandize imported from Egypt and Syria. Suddenly, on the 12th of March, 1172, all the Venetians were arrested, and their ships

confiscated. For ten long years, the unhappy beings pined in imprisonment. Andronicus Comnenus, who gained the throne by a murder, at last liberated them from interested motives. But the compensation, to which the Venetians would not give up their claim, he, like his successor, only promised the senate, without evincing any intention to pay. The usurper, Isaac II Angelus, who gave up his usurping predecessor to the fury of his enemies, renewed the privileges of the Venetians, and held out some hopes of compensation. His brother, Alexius III Comnenus, a monster who hurled his brother from his throne, and put out his eyes, escaped for some time by promises; but in the year 1200, satisfied their persevering demands, through fear of the powerful Venetians joining the party of his opponents. The horrors, the destruction, the weakness of the government, the fall of the nation, all promoted the plans of the ambitious Republicans, and facilitated the execution of their project of taking possession of a place, on which their chief intermediate trade in oriental goods depended.

At the same time with Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi, carried on a trade between Constantinople and the East. Commercial rivalry is the source of repeated hostilities. To guard against any inducements for it among the citizens of the Italian trade republics, the police of Constantinople had given each nation separate settlements, in the middle of the twelfth century. In addition, the Constantinopolitan

court was sufficiently tolerant, to allow all nations, who visited their city, and kept up factories there, their own religion and churches.

We have already mentioned, that the Venetians obtained from Alexius I Comnenus, their own quarter. The Genoese and Pisans had also their special settlements in the Byzantine capital: and we know, as regards the merchants of Amalfi, that they carried on trade with Constantinople from an early period. In addition to the above-mentioned concessions, the Greek court, about the year 1155, promised the Genoese an annual sum of 500 pieces of gold for the Government, and sixty for the Archbishop, in addition to several gold embroidered carpets: and the Pisans 500 pieces of gold, with two robes of honour for the Government, and forty pieces of gold, and one robe for the bishop. But the Greek court did not keep its promises. It even expelled the Pisans from the city, and broke up their trade. The Genoese, however, held their ground, and were so bold as to hand in to the Government a claim for 56,000 pieces of gold after the expiration of fifteen years. As at the same time the Venetians in Constantinople were treacherously arrested, the Pisans again rose in estimation, and their quarter was restored them: the court even decided on giving them the promised annuity, now fifteen years in arrear. A considerable number of Saracens were also settled in this great capital till 1204, with the privilege of possessing a Mosque,

which was plundered by the Latins after the conquest of the town in that year.

In spite of the careful separation of the nations, however, collisions were inevitable. In 1162 sanguinary quarrels broke out between the Pisans and Genoese, in which above 1000 of the former, and 300 of the latter appeared on the field of contest. If the number of the Pisans is not estimated at too high an amount by the Genoese authors, in order to excuse the defeat of the Genoese by the numerical superiority of the foe, it may be conjectured, that the number was composed not only of tradesmen and sailors, but also of workmen. For the speculative Italians of that day, not satisfied with gradually appropriating the trade between Constantinople and the Saracenic countries on the Mediterranean, would not even grant the Greeks the benefit of the manufactures which they procured by exchange in Constantinople, and with which they in part paid the Saracens for Indian and Levantine productions. They forced their way on, established factories in Constantinople, and destroyed the trade in the Greek manufactures. Even at the end of the eleventh century, several manufactories had been established in Constantinople, on account of Venetian houses: about the same time the manufactory of the townsmen of Melfi is mentioned. At a later date Pisan, and then Venetian, manufactures make their appearance.

In the meanwhile, the East Roman or Byzantine Empire had been diminished by Gothic and Sclavonic tribes, and since the seventh century, by the Arabs and other Asiatic nations; and its power had been confined to Europe, and to the few provinces it still retained in Asia Minor. Still this empire, even in its decline, was the most flourishing and populous among the Christians, possessed a considerable revenue, the largest town, and the most talented and industrious inhabitants, who always termed themselves Romans till the destruction of the empire, and contemptuously rejected the name of Greeks given them by the Franks. Splendour, extravagance, and the strict observance of ceremonials, were the fashion at Court. On the other hand, the history of the Byzantine rulers presents a series of horrors and acts of barbarity, of which history can furnish few parallels. In the almost constant revolutions, the victor was not satisfied with the usual mode of execution, but generally, or at least very frequently, put out the eyes of the unfortunates who were conquered.

We have already seen, that the Emperor Isaac Angelus was blinded by his brother, Alexius III. This took place in 1195. Alexius reigned eight years afterwards, but with each year excited greater dissatisfaction. The youthful Alexius, son of the blind Isaac, at this time escaped across the Adriatic,

and sought assistance for his father in Italy, France, and Germany.

Through the repeated exhortations and active interference of Pope Innocent III, a new crusade was preparing at this very time, commanded by the brave Count Baldwin of Flanders, the Margrave of Montferrat, and several French princes, who had entered into alliance with the Venetians, and had formed a treaty with them, by which the Venetians agreed to transport an army of from 30,000 to 40,000 men, and provide them with provisions for the sum of 85,000 silver marks. The Doge Dandolo, though 94 years of age and blind, animated with the enthusiasm of youth, placed himself at the head of the Venetian auxiliaries.

They quitted Venice, and first directed their arms against Zara, in Dalmatia, which town was taken. Here Prince Alexius appeared before the crusaders, and gained them by immense promises, that he would give 200,000 marks, unite the Greek and Roman Churches, and take part in the campaign against the infidels. In return they promised to restore his father to the throne, and aid him in subduing his enemies.

In the splendid Venetian fleet, in the year 1203, the knights approached the harbour of Constantinople, and cast anchor on the Asiatic coast opposite to it. After negotiations with the Emperor Alexius III had been unsuccessful, they boldly advanced with their

vessels across the Bosphorus, drove the Emperor with his 70,000 men back into the city, burnt or captured the Greek fleet, burst the chain, and took possession of the port. The Emperor then fled, and the timid inhabitants fetched the blind Isaac from his prison, and raised him to the throne under the guardianship of his son Alexius.

The faithful son's wishes were thus fulfilled, but for his part he had to fulfil the promises made to the crusaders. But whence obtain so much money, and how induce the nation to subject itself to the Roman Pope? He dared scarcely mention this, ere all was in a state of rebellion. But when he, in order to raise the promised sum, imposed fresh taxes, and even seized the church silver—when, further, the guests who had entered the country behaved in an offensive manner, by which the Saracen mosque was set on fire, and the spreading flames destroyed one of the suburbs—the rebellion broke out, and the people insisted on a fresh Emperor.

Under these circumstances none of the better members of the senate dared to undertake this difficult task; but at last a descendant of the former imperial family, Alexius, who, from his bushy eyebrows, was surnamed Murzuphlus, consented.

Isaac's son was strangled, and the father died from fever. After such acts of barbarity, the Crusaders or Latins (as they were here termed) believed

themselves justified in taking the city by storm, in which they succeeded on the 12th April, 1204. The victors behaved in the most licentious manner, houses were plundered, churches desecrated by drinking feasts and converted into stables, images and statues cut down and mutilated. At last the chieftains decreed that all the booty should be collected in these churches, and in accordance with a former treaty, be equally shared among the French and Venetians. In spite of much being stolen, such an uncommon quantity of rich stuffs, jewels, and money was collected, that an eye-witness wrote there was not such an amount of valuable property in the whole of Europe; another, that so much booty had not been made since the creation of the world.

And in sooth Constantinople was one of the richest and finest cities in the world. When the booty was divided, the French received for their share, in money alone, 40,000 marks of silver. After this business was concluded, they proceeded to a division of the Empire, which temporarily fell into four parts, one of which was given to Baldwin, unanimously elected Emperor, and which formed the material part of the so-termed Latin Empire, which lasted from 1204 to 1261. It only comprised ancient Thrace, but the supremacy over the remainder was attached to it. The other three parts were occupied by the Venetians (especially the littoral of the Adriatic, Ægean, Marmora, and Black Seas, and most of the islands): and by the French

and Lombardese nobility (the Margrave of Montferrat acquired Macedonia and a portion of ancient Greece under the title of the Kingdom of Thessalonica).

Soon after, however, the Comnene Theodore Lascaris founded a Greek empire in Nicœa, and another Byzantine prince reigned, with the title of Emperor, independently in Trebizonde. After the Latin Empire had lasted rather more than half a century, Michael Palæologus abolished it by the conquest of Constantinople in 1261, by the assistance of the Genoese who were jealous of the Venetians.

As was natural, the Genoese now took the place of the Venetians in Constantinople, whence the latter were straightway expelled. As the Venetians were kept out of the Black Sea for a considerable time, Vienna took advantage of the favourable moment. For a long time that city had carried on active trade with Constantinople, but not less so Ratisbon, Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremberg and other towns of Upper Germany, which prospered very rapidly in consequence.

In the year 1140, the number of Germans settled in Constantinople was so considerable, that a special church was built for them. Ratisbon, at that time, was far superior to Vienna, and the richest and most populous city in Germany. The navigation from this point down the Danube as far as the present Turkey, commenced in the 12th century; and when Frederick I undertook his expedition in 1189 to Palestine, he

had provisions carried on shipboard for him as far as the Morava in Servia.

The other German provinces also reaped the fruit of the Upper German active trade with Constantinople, which, though not at first originating from the Crusades, was greatly increased by them. At any rate the crusades produced for Germany and the Netherlands a chain of causes and effects, in which Constantinople formed the central principal link; and through them it was that the route to Constantinople became so much frequented by Greeks and Netherlanders. Through this the knowledge of their mutual articles of trade was extended; the inquiry for German and Netherland manufactures increased in Constantinople, and that for Eastern and Greek natural and industrial productions brought viâ Constantinople increased in the German and Netherland markets. The mode of cooking and dress among the Germans underwent considerable changes through their acquaintance with the East and the Greek court; the use of spices and silk stuffs increased, which was a great inducement for the traders to devote themselves to these imports.

As we have already seen, the Greek court had prohibited the sale of war materials to the Arabs. In the year 1179, a similar prohibition addressed to the whole of the Catholic Christianity was promulgated at the third Lateran council. Only a few years before, the Venetians had been so unjustly arrested, and their ships confiscated in Constantinople; and

this new blow now fell upon the republic, which for a time entirely stopped their trade.

The necessity was the greater, as Venice was inhabited by so many speculating and industrious men of business, whose activity was now checked; by so many restless seamen, who could not endure the confinement of the islands; the more oppressive, as Venice possessed an immense capital, whose circulation was suddenly destroyed, and such a powerful fleet, which lay idle in the port.

But however great the apprehension was, the courage of the Venetians, and their belief in a better future, were not exhausted. Boldly and perseveringly they demanded compensation from the Greek court when trade relations were again established. Such experienced business men did not close their establishments, the less so, as their Hierarchy did not allow them to live comfortably on the interest of their fortunes. Consequently, the attacks on Constantinople at the commencement of the fourth crusade, caused the greatest sensation among the mercantile world.

After repeated impediments of trade, prospects were opened out of an extension of the Greek, and a restoration of the eastern, trade of the Venetians. Their active co-operation in raising an emperor of Germanic descent to the Byzantine throne in 1240 was requited by considerable possessions on the seaboard, and with weighty privileges in the capital.

From the time when the Venetians regained their

supremacy in Constantinople, the eastern trade became more exclusive than ever. Still the punishment for transgressing the papal interdict was a great impediment. The trade with the Arabs was necessarily given up; for even if the prohibition did not prevent the import of eastern goods, still it was principally the forbidden exports, which passed through Egypt to Syria and India, which were generally given in return for the natural and industrial productions of that country.

The mercantile cleverness of the Venetians, however, contrived to discover an outlet. The productions of India had become a necessity for the inhabitants of Europe. Through Egypt and Syria, which were governed by Muhammadans, no commercial house of Catholic Christianity was allowed to obtain them, and Greece was for the greater portion of the thirteenth century under the government of Catholic Christians. Some time previously the Venetians had gone beyond Constantinople and entered into immediate relations with the inhabitants of the lower Don. Such sharp and practised eyes could not overlook the favourable position of the ancient Tanaïs, at the mouth of this river. They had attempted to establish a station there, whence, in consequence, Tana, the present Azov, was founded. A Venetian consul was appointed there towards the close of the twelfth century.

The undertakings in this quarter drew the attention of the Venetians to the primitive route

through Independent Tartary. Independent Tartary (severally called Turkistan, Great Bokharah, Djagataï, &c.,) is situated between Russia and Eastern Persia (or Affghanistan and Beeloochistan), and between the Caspian Sea and China, and contains as chief towns, Bokharah, Samarcand, and Balkh.

From these towns Venice now derived the Indian wares, for which inquiry in Europe was growing stronger, and introduced their European, especially German fabrics, which were more and more sought for on the Indus and the Ganges. From independent Tartary, the exports intended for Europe were carried across to the Caspian, as in former times. But from the Caspian Sea, they were not carried, as formerly, westward to the rivers of the Caucasus, but went up the Danube as far as Astraçhan, then by land through a part of Southern Russia across to the Don, and thence to Tana, or Azov, where immense stores were consequently established.

The Venetians had scarce broke ground, when their rivals, the Genoese and Pisan houses, carried on business with Independent Tartary by the same route. They, like their predecessors and masters, carried the Indian wares to Constantinople. This route, we may mention, through Independent Tartary, *viâ* Astrakan, Tana, and afterwards Kaffa (on the southern coast of the Crimean peninsula), lasted till the close of the fourteenth century: though the longer it endured, the weaker it became, as in consequence of

the ecclesiastic prohibition growing ineffective, less expensive routes were searched for.

Genoa, as the restless rival of Venice, applied in 1261 the method it had learned from that republic, in order to acquire the mercantile supremacy in Constantinople, and placed itself at the head of a counter-revolution. By its effective assistance it raised the Greek pretender in Nicœa, Michael Palæologus, to the Byzantine throne, as we previously saw. The Venetian and Pisan manufacturers settled in Constantinople, the new emperor suffered to remain: still many Venetians returned home, while the Genoese received, as a token of gratitude, the two suburbs of Galata and Pera, which they surrounded with walls and moats, and formed into a military settlement. Both names, Galata, and Pera, now became identical: the Italians employed the former, and the Greeks the latter. With each succeeding year this settlement of the Genoese became more dangerous to the commerce of the city.

Being now in possession of the supremacy, Genoa employed all her exertions to deprive the envied Venice of the most productive source of wealth, the Mediterranean trade. As soon as their proud rival was supposed to be humiliated by the counter-revolution, they promised to establish an emporium for the Indian goods arriving *viâ* Independent Tartary, which at the same time should command the Don, and ruin Tana. The position of Theodosia (on the south-

eastern coast of the Crimea) was considered favourable, and a colony was founded, which was afterwards called Kaffa. The Venetian flag was now almost excluded from the Black Sea; Genoa held both here and in Constantinople the entire trade.

About the year 1380, a box on the ears procured for the Genoese commercial privileges in Trebizonde. This buffet was given by a mistress of the Emperor Alexius of Trebizonde, to a Genoese nobleman, Megollo Lescari, who was playing chess in the Imperial Palace, and thus rendered him an irreconcilable enemy to the empire. For, as he had received no satisfaction from the emperor for the insult, he returned hurriedly to Genoa, equipped two gallies, manned them with young volunteers, sailed to the Black Sea, desolated the seaboard of Trebizonde, plundered the inhabitants, and after cutting off their noses and ears, sent the terrible trophies to the emperor.

It caused such terror at the court of Trebizonde, that Alexius thought himself compelled to sacrifice his favourite. Lescari sent her back again contemptuously, and declared that he would not revenge himself on a woman. He demanded, that the emperor by a formal bond should secure to him the promise of giving his Genoese countrymen privileges in his capital and a house to live in. The Emperor consented to everything, and thus the Genoese obtained firm footing in Trebizonde, from which

place they again opened up the Pontic commercial route, mentioned at the commencement of this chapter.

Previously, however, they had sought for other and shorter routes for the transport of Indian goods. For they could only be imported with advantage either through Independent Tartary or Persia, on condition that they were intended for Constantinople and thence went into a northern or north-westerly direction. The circuitous route was much too expensive to stock the European ports of the Mediterranean in this manner.

In order to prevent this as much as possible, another commercial route was chosen, by which, through respect for the church prohibition, the territory of the temporary possessors of Egypt and Palestine was not touched. Syria had been since the second half of the 13th century the prey of two conquering hordes; the Mamelukes who had advanced from Egypt and the Mongols from the north-east. The Genoese had turned their attention to Mongolia shortly before the outbreak of the counter-revolution in Constantinople. They had probably entered into negociations with these barbarians on account of the route about to be arranged for the eastern wares through the territory of the Mongols, whose Khan resided at Tauris or Tebriz. Their mercantile plans must have been connected with the political ones of the Mongolians; for an embassy of the latter was at Genoa just about the

time when this enemy of Venice succeeded in carrying out the counter-revolution.

Still, the Genoese could not prevent the Venetians from also obtaining these goods *viâ* Tauris, although by a different route. Tauris, the seat of the ruler of Asiatic Mongolia, had become a very important mercantile spot; Indian goods brought by sea in the Persian Gulf, were thence carried by land to Persia, or up the Tigris to Bagdhad, and then afterwards by caravans to Tebris.

It was this circumstance which the Venetians eagerly laid hold on, when in their dilemma between the church prohibition and the alteration of their relations in Constantinople, they sent expeditions to Tauris, and even as far as Bagdhad. By a north-western route the Indian goods were carried through lesser Armenia, and the western portion of ancient Armenia to the Mediterranean, where Ajazzo (in ancient times Issus) a much-frequented port in the angle formed by Asia Minor and Syria, became the chief emporium. Soon, however, the Genoese, who always jealously watched their rivals, obtained their eastern goods for the towns of southern Europe by the same route.

But the more the inquiry after eastern goods increased in Europe, and the more cities of second rank joined in this profitable business, the greater exertions did the Venetians and Genoese make, to maintain their long-asserted supremacy. The costs of the

land carriage on the above route were so great, that it was only chosen for a time through compulsion. Merely the finer species, of slight weight and bulk, were introduced *viâ* Bagdhad and Tauris; for instance, cloves, nutmegs, spikenard and mace. The heavier and coarser wares, as pepper, ginger, cinnamon, incense, were generally smuggled by the most convenient and at that time most advantageous route of all known ones to India—viz.: *viâ* Egypt.

Indian productions were continually brought to Cairo, Damietta, and Alexandria. During the period of the prohibition several Venetian and Genoese houses derived their Indian goods in these ways both from Egypt and from the Syrian ports in the power of the Saracens. After Antiochia was given up by the Christians, a caravan was formed from Bagdhad to this place, and thence to the seaboard towns of ancient Syria, then held by the Sedjuks and Turks. Soon, several places along the south and south-western coast of Asia Minor were engaged in the Indian trade, from Saleph or Selefkiè (formerly Seleucia Trachea), in Cilicia, to the western extremity, and further northwards to Aya Yani, near the ancient Ephesus.

The towns of Attalea or Satalia and Candelorum (anciently Side), in Pamphylia were chiefly engaged in the passive trade, and here the Italian smugglers exchanged their European wares for the Eastern. These places were scarce known as depôts for Eastern

goods, before sellers arrived from Egypt to take advantage of the market. The Venetians even loaded goods in Alexandria, and carried them to Satalia. The Genoese, although in possession of the Bokhara Byzantine trade, were also just as busy here: the more so, as they held for a considerable time valuable settlements in the conterminous lesser Armenia, or in Eastern Cilicia, principally at Tarsus, Marlinistra and Sis or Sisia, where the Government had allowed them their own quarter of the town, their own churches, and even their own jurisdiction. These settlements were employed by the Genoese traders to traffic with the above Turkish seaboard: and in order to escape the prying glances of the Church Ministers and spies, they carried the European export articles, and the Indian return goods through Christian, but not Catholic, lesser Armenia by land, to and from the Turkish sea-ports. They even obtained from the Armenian princes a considerable alteration in the transit tax, in their favour.

During the crusades, the following Greek natural and industrial productions and Indian spices, were taken from Constantinople, *viâ* Hungary, into Germany: laurel leaves, saffron, olive oil, liquorice, unmanufactured silk, clerical robes, purple mantles, gold stuffs, sword belts, mounted in brass or copper:– pepper, ginger, cloves, nutmegs, &c.

On the other hand, the exports from Germany to Constantinople, were, slaves, arms, sadlery, woollens,

linen, woodwork, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and quicksilver.

Constantinople was in an excellent position for trading with the nations around the Black Sea, and took advantage of it to a great extent. A considerable amount of traffic went on with the Greek colonies on the coast of Tauris. From Bosphorus (Vospor, originally called Panticapœum, and now Kortch) a great colony on the coast of the Peninsula of the Crimea, and on the Bosphorus Cimmerius (or rather on the straits of Yenikali, connecting the Black Sea with the sea of Azov) a great deal of cattle had been imported since the sixth century, whence this town became the emporium for the nomadic tribes in Tauris, and on the neighbouring continent. With the nations of Turkish origin (to which the Turks belonged, and which were originally settled on the north-eastern frontier of Independent Tartary), who ruled over these countries from the end of the seventh to the end of the twelfth century,—the Chazars—Petchenegoi and Kumans (Polovzians), Constantinople was constantly in active communication; although, in the twelfth century, the Venetians acquired a great portion of this trade, without touching this city.

At first, it only carried on an intermediate trade, especially with the Petchenegoi, *vid* Cherson on the western coast of the Crimea. Eventually the traders of these nations journeyed to Constantinople, in order to fetch the imports direct, and prevent them passing

through so many hands. By these traders must be meant the Tauric Scythians, with whom the Greek merchants of Constantinople had sanguinary quarrels in 1043, whence a desperate war ensued, in which the Russians were mixed up as enemies of the Greeks.

With the Russians, too, the trade was remarkably brisk, and the "Sclavonic Greeks" or Russian merchants were treated with the highest respect by the Greeks, which was much increased by the knowledge of the high degree of confidence placed in these merchants by the Russian magnates. For the traders visiting Constantinople were at the same time agents for the great men, and were even given as adjuncts to diplomatic persons, in consequence of their acquaintance with the Greek manners and customs, and their practice in negociations. They had their own quarters in Constantinople, in the St Mamantus suburb. How welcome they were in Constantinople is proved by the fact, that they were maintained there at the public expense, and received monthly rations, consisting of bread, fish, meat, wine and fruit.

The native merchants of Constantinople, too easy and cautious to undertake exports and travels into distant Russia, on their own account, trusted to the reputation of their city, and to the unlimited importation which took place at this central spot from all quarters, and enabled them to do an immense business without risking much, or leaving their homes. At the most, they only attended the thronged market of

Marcianopolis, the old capital of Lower Mæsia, to the east of Schumla. But Russian merchants generally travelled themselves to Constantinople. From Novgorod in the Baltic provinces and Lake Ilmen, from Czernikoff on the central Dnieper, and from Mielniza in Volhynia, and several other places, they met in Kiev, and sailed thence together down the Dnieper, in order to be sufficiently strong to repulse the hostile attacks of the Patzinachi.

Constantinople was the object of these caravans. The nations which visited it soon had their attention drawn to the fact, that they might outvie the Greeks in business, carry on trade without their agency, and only employ the city as a place of exchange. The Venetians, Genoese, and Germans very strongly supported this view. In order to prevent their pretensions as regarded the northern trade, and not to lose the intermediate trade, the Greeks should have tried to check them by double activity on their own part. But they contented themselves with paltry state prohibitions: the Russians had their permission to pass the winter in Constantinople withdrawn, and they were forced to return home in the autumn.

Through these and similar measures the Greeks fancied that they should prevent all communication between the Russian, Italian, and German traders, but by this they undermined their own agencies; for the Venetians, bolder and more enterprising than they were, pressed on to the northern shores of the

Black Sea, and met the Russians at the mouth of the Dnieper, and in the same way the successive occupiers of Tauris and the lower Don.

In the twelfth century the expeditions of Venice to the mouth of the Don and to Zichia, situated to the east of it (now Zickevi, and in Russian Caucasia on the coast of the Black Sea), were in full activity. The speculating traders of Ratisbon and Austria kept on a level with the Venetians. They had seen the value of the Russian trade at Constantinople, and commenced searching for the source of the indispensable Russian exports, and carrying their own by the direct route.

Kiev, till now the meeting-place for the merchants journeying to Constantinople, became a great trading place, beyond which many of the Russians no longer went, after the Germans came to meet them and established factories. Thus Constantinople experienced, partly from its own fault, the fate of many cities, a considerable portion of its former intermediate trade was lost by the immediate communication of the nations, between whom it had carried on the agency; and this new trade was established by the Russians and Dono-Tauric nations upon northern soil.

The goods which were exchanged in the Northern Constantinopolitan trade may be partially settled from the mutual presents of the Regents and Magnates; for natural and industrial productions were always selected, which were prized in the country of

the grandees to whom they were given, and thus certainly formed part of the trade. However, the knowledge of these presents is not the only source of our historical information on this subject.

The exports, both to Tauris and Zichia, and also to Russia, comprised the following:—Gold and silver, Greek and Egyptian silks, embroidered girdles, Greek leather, fruits and wines, Eastern spices, especially pepper. The imports (principally to Constantinople) consisted of iron, building-wood, pitch, honey, wax, hides, dried and salted fish, corn, furs, and slaves of both sexes.

At a later date the active trade of the Constantinopolitans with the north was confined to the importation of fish and corn, although the latter, a very important branch, at last fell almost entirely into the hands of the Genoese. The navigation of the Greeks to the northern shores of the Black Sea chiefly had for its origin the capture or purchase of fish. The salt requisite for pickling was prepared from an early date on the Taurian coast. How considerable the fish trade must have been is partly proved by the high sums the taxes obtained from it, partly from the great number of fishing vessels, which at the commencement of the thirteenth century was stated to be 1,600.

The importation of Russian furs into Constantinople is the less to be doubted, as they are frequently mentioned as presents. Igor, Rurik's son, who lived

at the end of the ninth century, presented the Greek envoys with furs after the conclusion of a peace; and Olga, his wife, promised on her departure from Constantinople (where she had gone in 955 to be baptised), to send furs in requital for the presents she had received. Another fact to prove the importation of these articles is, that Henry the Lion, who lived in the last half of the twelfth century, on his journey through this capital to Palestine, received sable furs for all the servants who accompanied him. At the conquest of Constantinople, too, furs of considerable value were found.

The slave trade, the disgrace of the Venetians and other Italians, was not carried on to any great extent *viâ* Constantinople; but probably the sale of those slaves only took place there who were brought to this market from Christian countries. The majority of the slaves were, however, purchased on the north-eastern shores of the Black Sea. Even till the middle of the fourteenth century the Venetians bought slaves here, whom they carried for sale to Egypt.

National timidity, the consequence of a despotic government and of the seductive luxury of an extravagant court, lessened the active trade of the Greek houses at Constantinople, who yielded it up to the more courageous and enterprising foreigners. Too lazy and timid to undergo the fatigues and dangers of long journeys and large caravans, or to learn

foreign, barbarous, languages, the Greeks trusted to the position of their city, and did not reflect, that the direction of trade is subjected to the eternal laws of change.

They soon had cause to repent. Their chief commerce had consisted in the very flourishing intermediate trade, in which they exchanged eastern, western, and northern goods on their own account. But now they saw this flourishing business gradually decreasing. The Russians remained away from their markets, the Germans even passed them by, and both these nations extended their active trade to the north, and at the end of the Crusades, these two enterprising nations entered into trade relations, no longer at a third place, or by the intervention of Greek houses in remote Constantinople, but exchanged their goods directly over the Alps, or through the Straits of Gibraltar.

After the loss of nearly all the intermediate trade, the Greeks of the capital were restricted to the passive exportation of native natural and industrial productions, and the equally passive importation of the wares intended for home use, with the exception of corn and fish from the north. From this fall in the wholesale trade, the balance was against Constantinople, for the importation of the noble metals and of Eastern spices was predominant. Still the annual deficit was covered by the immense sums which a brilliant and most luxurious Court brought into cir-

culation. Hence, as well as by the extremely brisk retail trade, and through the importance of its manufactures, Constantinople was the richest and most luxurious city of the middle ages.

THE COMMERCE OF TURKEY.

THE COMMERCE OF TURKEY.

ITS PRESENT CONDITION.

THE conquest of Constantinople by the Turks destroyed not only the foreign trade, but the manufactures of this formerly so flourishing city. The fury of the army scarcely left a trace of Constantinopolitan manufactures; and the trade with Asia, and with Western Europe, sank to a most inconsiderable state.

Through the close political connection, which the King of France, Francis I, being the first, formed with the Ottoman Porte, a more exclusive trade certainly was carried on between the two nations, still the amount was for a long time very trifling. On the other hand, the cessation or great reduction of the caravan trade from India to Egypt and Constantinople, had robbed this city of a great portion of its importance; at the same time the consumption of European productions in Turkey was very limited, and thus the importations from France remained of

trifling amount, even after Richelieu had taken so much trouble in the seventeenth century, to promote the Levantine trade. Colbert's exertions in this respect met with greater success. He promoted the Levantine trade, not only directly but indirectly, by ordering the manufacture of woollen stuffs specially adapted for the eastern markets, called Londomes. This article was, in the eighteenth century, a very important article of export. Several other manufactures, as well as coffee, sugar, and other colonial merchandise, were exported to Turkey.

In addition to the French, the chief countries engaged in the Levant trade, were the Venetians, Genoese, and chief of all, the English. The latter especially sent woollen goods there, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, their trade in these parts was more considerable than that of the French, who at the close of the previous century had the superiority, as, shortly before 1789, they exported nearly 3,000,000*l.* worth, while the English only had 2,800,000*l.*

The war superinduced by the French Revolution entirely altered the state of things: for the trade of France with Turkey almost entirely fell into the hands of the English, who from that time annually increased their exports, in which they were materially assisted by the circumstance, that the English cottons, of which hardly any had been previously imported into Turkey, now found a great demand. The commerce

of the Dutch and Italians was also almost entirely annihilated by this war. The English commanded nearly the whole trade of European and Asiatic Turkey, which was materially promoted by the circumstance, that the chief Turkish exports, dried fruits, unmanufactured silks, and drugs, are nowhere so largely consumed as in England. The Russians carried on no trade with Constantinople, as long as the Crimea and other seaboard countries of the Black Sea were subjected to the Porte. After they had robbed Turkey of the Crimea in 1774, they commenced direct trade with Turkey.

After the peace of 1815, the French and other nations, recommenced their commercial relations with Turkey, which had been so long interrupted by the war: still the English retained the superiority, especially as they were enabled to sell their cotton goods at the lowest price. The Austrian trade only made any considerable progress in Turkey: and Trieste exported large quantities of mannfactures and other goods for that market.

The external trade of the Turks, at least of those in Europe, was principally by water. Goods were certainly carried up the Danube, but this branch of trade was of no great importance, because the sea route *viâ* Trieste was cheaper, partly from the fact that the navigation of the Danube had then to struggle against immense difficulties.

The dominion of the Turks, and the ruin of the

Indo-Egyptian trade had a most injurious effect upon Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as Arabia. These countries almost disappeared from the history of commerce, and their trades suffered dreadfully by the oppression of a highly despotic Government. The once so fertile places in the neighbourhood of Babylon became one desolate steppe, as the splendid waterworks formed by the ancients were suffered to decay. A few of the manufactures in Mesopotamia and Syria, were all that survived the blow.

During the reign of Mehemet Ali in Syria (from 1832-1840), no small expectations were formed in Europe for this country. The direct communication, which was less restricted than before, certainly produced some little progress, but only in so far, that more European goods were imported: while, on the other hand, no great augmentation in the exportation of the country could take place, as the productions remained almost on the same footing as heretofore. Civil order was, this time, better maintained than had ever been the case previously: but on the other hand the public burthens were generally very oppressive.

We have already mentioned, that among the components of Asiatic Turkey, there was an Arabic Eyalet, whose Vicéroy has his seat in Djedda: but if the Turkish Sultan has little power over the Pacha of Djedda, through his distance from Constantinople, still the Hedjaz is under his authority, if only nomi-

nally, and he is in some degree regarded as the Caliph. At any rate this is the most suitable place to make a few remarks about the later mercantile relations of Arabia, especially of its seaport towns on the Red Sea.

Since the conterminous kingdoms have been opened up to Europeans by Mehemet Ali's enterprising spirit; and the Indo-British transit trade has been the first step to restore the Indian trade to its old route, over the isthmus of Suez, the countries on the Red Sea, Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia have been aroused from the night of centuries.

These extensive countries, although divided from the Mediterranean, the cradle of commerce, only by a narrow isthmus, are yet more remote from the European system of commerce, than are the most distant islands of the Pacific.

The reasons for this remarkable circumstance have been repeatedly mentioned: they originate partly from the obstinate seclusion of the Arabian principle in nationality and religion, which has planted itself in the vicinity of the sacred Kaaba, as the last bulwark aginst the entrance of European cultivation: and partly in the nature of the Red Sea, which extends for seventeen degrees of latitude between reefy, inhospitable shores, without any river flowing into it: the harbours are poor, and the north wind which prevails for nearly nine months in the year, renders navigation most dangerous for ships of any burthen.

Till the end of the last century the country where the rich Berenice had once stood, consequently remained a real *terra incognita*. In the year 1799 a firman was even issued, by which all non-Muhammadans were forbidden the navigation of the Red Sea. This prohibition gradually became obsolete through Mehemit Ali's great toleration towards Europeans, and at a late date the attention of speculators has been attracted hither.

The commercial territory of the Red Sea is naturally divided into two chief parts—the western, or Egypto-Ethiopian, and the eastern, or Arabic coast. Each of these districts is again divided into two sharply-contrasted groups. The eastern coast contains, in addition to Yemen in the south, the Hedjaz, with the ports of Jambo and Djedda.

Suez, at the head of the Arabian gulf, keeps up the communication between Egypt and Europe, but is chiefly important on account of the Indian transit, and only indirectly shares in the local traffic of the Red Sea, *viâ* Djedda. The same is the case with all the other ports, which carry on scarcely any coasting trade, and are connected together by means of Djedda. At the latter place the whole active commerce of the Arabian gulf or Red Sea is concentrated.

Djedda, which may be regarded as the port of Mecca, is the emporium of the Hedjaz, and the first commercial town in Arabia. Every year above 100,000 pilgrims from central Africa, Morocco, the

Barbaresque provinces, and Egypt pass, *viâ* Suez, to the grave of the Prophet. Caravans from the centre of Arabia, from Bassora, Persia, and Khorassan, merchant vessels from Muscat, British India, and Zanjibar, collect here and exchange the productions of their countries for those of India.

Djedda is the only place in the extensive territory of Islamism where no unbeliever is actively engaged in commerce—the last remnant of the formerly flourishing and healthy trade of the Arabic Muhammadans, as the Portuguese found it three centuries and a half ago, in the Indian and Arabian waters. But even here, in the Hedjaz, a few miles from the Holy city, which no Giaour dare approach under penalty of death, the inevitable influence of European principles is being felt, and is undermining, spite of all impediments, the manners and customs of a nation, which have remained unaltered almost from the time of the patriarchs.

Indian muslin has entirely given way to English manufactures; all real oriental industrial productions are proving every year less disposable, and European fabrics are taking their place.

The trade with India is gradually declining, and the imports from that country are confined to rice and fruits. On the other hand, the European imports are steadily increasing.

The chief depôt for European goods intended for the Hedjaz is Cairo, whence the bales are carried with

the great caravan to Suez, and thence by water to Djedda. There is in Cairo a special bazaar (jemelia) for goods from and for the Hedjaz, and it is estimated that two-fifths of the manufactures lying in Cairo go to Djedda.

The principal articles are—

English goods: The white and unbleached cotton stuffs known by the names of long-cloth, sheeting, and tanjib, in pieces of 36-40 yards, and about 32 to 42 inches wide, in immense quantities, but generally of inferior quality; printed merinos, of gay colours, and employed for turbans and scarves; little cotton handkerchiefs, Scotch plaids, white and red sewing thread, iron ware, tinned goods, copper and iron wire, Sheffield and Birmingham wares, iron in bars, and lead in pigs.

From Tuscany thin satin (raso), and heavy Florence are imported in large quantities.

From Switzerland, principally cambrics of every quality, muslins, and handkerchiefs.

From Trieste, arsenic, vermillion, red lead, spikenard, iron and brass wire, steel in bars, nails, files, &c.; glass goods from Bohemia (ordinary sorts from Styria), Venetian cutlery, cut and plain beads, garnets, and short goods of every description, especially Nuremberg wares. The value of the goods from Trieste exported to Djedda is estimated at £40,000. Trade is carried on by Greek houses in Cairo, who have their Arabian correspondents on the spot.

Of the Egyptian goods, 3,400,000 pieces of ordinary unbleached or blue striped calicoes, of 35-36 yards to the piece, are taken to the Hedjaz, where they serve exclusively for the dress of the poorest classes. The manufacture of these ordinary stuffs, which are sold so cheaply, that England cannot furnish them at the price, Egypt owes to the late Mehemet Ali. Of all his attempts to introduce European manufactures into Egypt, this was the most successful.

The chief articles of export from Djedda are—Incense, drugs of every description, gum (eight different sorts of which, are offered for sale in the Bazaar of Cairo), coffee from Yemen, musk, senna leaves, mother o'-pearl, tortoiseshell, ivory, wax, hides, &c. The total trade of Djedda is estimated from about £800,000 to a million annually, of which at least a third belongs to the Cairo trade. Since the death of Ibrahim Pasha the Egyptian trade with the Hedjaz has very largely increased. This has arisen partly, from the abolition of the monoply in Sennaar goods, and partly, through the removal of all interior dues on the goods as they pass through the country, which was obtained by the English influence with the Porte.

We will now proceed to enquire into the present commercial relations of Turkey, and afterwards the most interesting details of the Pontic route, and the commerce carried on, in the Danubian Principalities.

As regards the trade (which, especially in Asiatic Turkey, is carried on largely, by means of caravans) the Turkish government is very indifferent, although, since 1838, it has formed commercial treaties with England, France, and Austria. The internal trade in addition is only carried on in the bazaars by Turks, Jews, and Armenians, and the external, in which the Turks take little share, almost exclusively, by Greeks, Armenians, Franks, and Jews. Nevertheless, the commerce of Turkey with foreign countries, is of considerable importance, and in 1846, represented a total value of £18,120,000 divided as follows.

	£	£
England:		
Imports } inclusive of Malta and the Ionian Islands	2,320,000	
Exports } inclusive of Malta and the Ionian Islands	1,200,000	
Transit trade with Persia, *viâ* Trebizonde	4,000,000	
		7,520,000
France:		
Imports	999,560	
Exports	2,114,680	
		3,114,240
Austria:		
Imports	1,046,120	
Exports	1,704,000	
		2,750,120

Russia:		
Imports . . .	894,400	
Exports . . .	682,880	
		1,577,280
Netherlands:		
Imports . . .	243,080	
Exports . . .	82,920	
		326,000
Belgium:		
Imports . . .	42,760	
Exports . . .	19,120	
		61,880
Sardinia:		
Imports . . .	33,640	
Exports . . .	95,880	
		129,520
Greece:		
Imports . . .	16,000	
Exports . . .	172,000	
		188,000
Switzerland, United States, &c.:		
Imports . . .	844,480	
Exports . . .	548,520	
		1,393,000
Persia:		
Imports . . .	1,000,000	
Exports . . .	60,000	
		1,060,000
Total . .		£18,120,000

In the same year the commerce of the Ottoman Empire with the tributary provinces amounted to £2,540,000 as follows:

Egypt:		
Imports . . .	840,000	
Exports . . .	740,000	
		1,580,000
Wallachia:		
Imports . . .	348,000	
Exports . . .	232,000	
		580,000
Moldavia:		
Imports . . .	174,000	
Exports . . .	116,000	
		290,000
Servia:		
Imports . . .	70,000	
Exports . . .	20,000	
		90,000
Total . .		£2,540,000

The principal EXPORT articles of European Turkey, are:—cotton, Turkish yarn, cattle, pigs, wine, dried fruits, carpets, raw silk, hare-skins, goat and camel hair, oil, honey, wax, tobacco, hides, gall apples, madder, meerschaum and other pipes, opium, and Turkish sabres.

The principal IMPORTS are, European articles of fashion, fine steel wares, brass and iron wire, stoves, nails, Nüremberg goods, glass (from Bohemia), window glass (from Belgium), mirrors (from France and Austria), paper (from Trieste, France and the Italian ports), earthenware (from England), porcelain (from Bavaria and Austria), and all varieties of leather.

Among the commercial towns of European Turkey, the first rank is occupied by:—

CONSTANTINOPLE, which was not only important from the time of the foundation of ancient Byzantium, through its trade, but, as we have seen in our previous sketch, was the richest and most important European city during the middle ages. The position of the city on the water route, between the Mediterranean and Black Seas, is remarkably advantageous for trade. The excellent harbour is an extensive gulf, which intersects the land, between the suburbs of Galata and Pera. At the present day, or, more properly speaking, since the government of the Turks, Constantinople has possessed very few manufactures, the principal productions being confined to morocco leather, Turkish yarn, and a few descriptions of weapons. The commerce, too, is not nearly so important as during the middle ages, but still flourishing, in consequence of the excellent geographical position of this city. Nearly 4000 merchant vessels annually visit the Porte (of which, however, a great number, if not all, are bound for ports in the Black Sea), and the amount of trade done is about £3,500,000

yearly, of which £2,041,655 belong to the imports and £1,458,335 to the exports. The imports consist of furs, corn, cloth, linen, printed and coloured calicoes, tin, glass wares, porcelain, Nüremberg goods, &c. These goods are placed in the storehouses along the quays, and the retail trade is carried on in the bazaars, where the riches of the East and West are collected. The Turkish government raises a duty of twelve per cent. from all imports, of which the seller pays nine, and the buyer three. The exports consist of silk, rose oil, opium, carpets, wool, buffalo leather, morocco leather, goats' hair, wax, hare-skins, potash, copper, and various drugs. The sea trade of Constantinople is in the hands of the above-mentioned nations, although Greeks and Armenians, settled in the city, have almost the entire management of it.

SALONICHI or Thessalonichi, the capital of Macedonia, is the second seaport town in European Turkey, and occupies a distinguished rank in the industrial department. The manufactories there furnish many and excellent carpets, silk and cotton goods, good Turkish red and morocco leather. These articles, in addition to rice, Macedonian cotton (100,000 bales), excellent tobacco, unmanufactured silk, currants and other southern fruits, opium, hare-skins, and building-wood, are annually exported, in value about five million piastres. At the same time the harbour is good and has room for 300 vessels, and the communication with Smyrna, Constantinople, and Trieste

through the Austrian Lloyd, and also by land with Vienna, does a great deal to render trade brisk. LERES, also in Macedonia, is chiefly distinguished for its large growth of cotton.

In ADRIANOPLE, on the navigable Maritza, in Rumelia, to the north-west of Constantinople, industry is much more brisk than in the Turkish capital itself, and it is especially distinguished by the manufacture of carpets and morocco leather, for Turkish yarn, the preparation of opium, attar of roses, and rose water. These articles and the productions of the fertile soil in the vicinity form the staple of the important Adrianople trade, which is carried on partly by land with Constantinople, partly by sea, through the Port of Œnos, at the mouth of the Maritza. Several European houses have establishments here, which are devoted to the trade in wool, unmanufactured silk, hemp, leather, tobacco, tallow and wax. GALLIPOLI on the Thracian Chersonese has some excellent morocco leather manufactories and a rather extensive trade.

LARISSA, the capital of Thessaly, is the most important manufacturing town in European Turkey, and celebrated for its Turkish red, silk and cotton, leather and tobacco. Here all the main roads of Thessaly converge and make the town the centre of an extensive trade in the rich productions of this fertile province, as, corn, silk, wool, cotton, cattle, hides, skins, tallow, hemp, tobacco, madder, olive oil, wine,

raisins, figs, almonds, honey, and wax, and which it owes to the Greeks, who form the great majority of the population. AMBELAKIA, at the head of the Vale of Tempé, is noted for numerous Turkish red manufactories and for a large trade in cotton and grain.

The other commercial and manufacturing towns of European Turkey are as follows:

In RUMELIA: Selimnia, a town of 25,000 inhabitants, is celebrated for its woollen stuffs, weapons, and otto of roses: Philippopolis (60,000 inhabitants) produces woollen stuffs, silk, wine and rice. It is also the centre of the Austrian trade with Rumelia, which is estimated to amount to about £250,000 annually.

In BULGARIA; Sophia, the capital, has manufactories of cloth, silk, and tobacco, and carries on a large trade. Schumla, a fortress and converging point of the routes across the Balkan, which carries on an extensive trade, is also celebrated for its copper and brass foundries, numerous tanneries, and silk manufactories. Giumi, near Schumla, has by the extent of its exchanges become one of the first fairs in Bulgaria, at which Austrian goods form a principal part. Varna, a commercial town with the best Turkish part of the Black Sea, where 180 ships annually arrive, which export corn, meal, tallow, eggs and cheese, and import colonial goods, glass, nails, twists and calicos. Rutschuk, the focus of the military and commercial roads from the centre of the country, and a principal emporium of the Danubian trade, in leather, muslin,

and silk wares. Tultscha, in the Dobrudscha and on the Danube, is very largely frequented by shipping. Sistova, on the Danube, possesses a great number of river boats, which serve to carry corn up the river, and as return freight bring rock salt into the Wallachian scales. Nicopolis, Widdin, Lom-Palanka, and Orsova, on the Danube, have similar boats to those of Sistova.

In ALBANIA, Scutari the capital, on the lake of the same name, fifteen miles from the Adriatic, and to south-east of Zara in Dalmatia, is the emporium of the whole of Albania, of a part of Bosnia, Servia, Macedonia and Thessaly, and supports manufactories of wool and muskets. Durazzo, a seaport on the Adriatic, has leather factories, and carries on trade in wood, tobacco, olive oil, &c. Previza, with a harbour, oil and corn trade. Yanina, on the western bank of the lake of the same name, in the centre of the country, has leather manufactories and an extensive trade. Montenegro is of importance to Austria, as the district of Cattaro carries on a brisk trade with the Tchernagori, and obtains from them the most indispensable necessaries, such as corn and cattle, and also wine and spirits.

In BOSNIA, Serajevo, or Bosna Seraï, capital of Bosnia, and centre of the trade of this province. Here all the foreign and the principal Constantinopolitan and Rumelian goods are collected, which form an important item in the indirect trade with the other

Bosnian towns. The goods are generally transported on horseback, with the exception of those which are carried across the Save, Unna, and Sana, in vessels. The trade is chiefly in the hands of Greeks and Jews; the Turks confine themselves to the sale of Turkish productions imported from Constantinople. The principal guild in this town is that of the Skinners, who carry on an extensive trade in felting with the whole of Rumelia, at Usundjaova (a Rumelian market town on the Maritza, with a large fair), and Constantinople. The principal articles exported from Serageoo, are: cattle, hides, wool, wax, sumach, gall apples, building-wood, staves and boards, potash, iron, and prepared goat and sheep skins, which go to Vienna, Pesth, and Essegg. The principal manufactures in the town are iron and copper utensils, muskets, jewellery, &c. Mostar, the chief town in the Turkish district of the Herzegovina, has a manufactory of Damascene sword blades, and a brisk trade in cattle and natural productions.

We will now proceed to give a short sketch of the Pontic commercial route, which we mentioned at the commencement of the last chapter.

We saw then, that the prosperous trade relations in the north-eastern seaboard of Asia Minor were destroyed by the advance of the Turks.

The employment of steam-power has re-animated trade in these countries, and given fresh life to a district which had been paralyzed for ages, after peace and security had been in some measure secured. The first steamer appeared at Trebizonde in 1836 under the English flag. But at that time the trade of Trebizonde was so limited, that even this single steamer was obliged to be taken off through want of support. A few years later the Austrian "Ferdinando" made its appearance. The Danubian Steam Company, to which it belonged, boldly ran it back and forwards, and eventually reaped the reward of their perseverance. Since then but a few years have elapsed, and now this coast is visited six times monthly by steamers. Three companies, the Austrian Lloyd, the Campagnia Ottomana, and the Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Steam Company, share the trade, and make it answer. Besides the towns of Trebizonde, Sinope, and Samsun, the steamers also regularly call at Ineboli.

TREBIZONDE is situated on the Black Sea, to the west of the Russo-Caucasian frontier. SINOPE is on the Black Sea, opposite the southern coast of the Russian Crimeas, west-north-west of Trebizonde, and east-north-east of Scutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople. SAMSUN is also on the Black Sea, between Sinope and Trebizonde. The seaport of INEBOLI is to the west of Sinope. BATUM, also on the Black

Sea, is situated close to the Russo-Caucasian frontier. RISCH lies between Batum and Trebizonde.

The Liverpool Levantine Company also sent its screw steamers on experimental voyages to this coast, and appointed three of them to keep up a direct communication between Trebizonde and England during the better season of the year.

If we look on the map at the immense districts which lie to the south and east, and more or less blessed with rich powers of production, which through their geographical position are allied to the Pontic route—if, further, we take into consideration the annually increasing preference among the Asiatic nations for European goods, we must see that the trade with them is capable of an immense, almost an incalculable, development. In order, however, that this trade should become still more prosperous, and arrive at that development of which it is naturally capable, an improvement in the means of communication, especially of the system of roads, is requisite.

The most important roads for the trade with the interior are those from Trebizonde and Samsun. In addition, the roads from Batum, Sinope, and Ineboli are of value. Only the roads in the vicinity of Samsun and Erzrum are in some portions passable, but generally bridle roads of the worst possible description are employed. Instead of following the

course of the valleys, these roads, to avoid any circuit, are carried across hill and dale, and rise in some places to a height of 6,000 to 8,000 feet above the level of the sea. If showers or lasting falls of snow occur, the communication is frequently interrupted. The transport trade is consequently very laborious, and the considerable loss of time, the uncertainty of delivery, and the injuries to which the goods are liable, have an injurious effect upon trade. The greatest misfortune, however, is in the expenses of freightage, which increase the outset price of the goods fearfully, and quite exclude from trade goods of inferior value and less compass.

No one in this country thinks of a permanent improvement of the road system, least of all the Turkish Pashas. It is rare that a few swampy pits are filled up with stones, or that the steep declivities are removed by human hands; with this exception, the roads are nothing but the paths which the beasts of burthen have trodden out. In the opinion of men acquainted with the subject, the difficulties are nowhere so considerable as to seriously prevent the formation of roads. These are to be found almost exclusively in the mountain chain which runs parallel with, and at a short distance from the coast. Numerous valleys, however, render the approach to the centre of the hills easier; beyond them are extensive plateaux as far as the Persian frontier. There are no large rivers to cross; building materials are found in

abundance; wages are very low, and hence there are few countries where a slight outlay would produce more important results for the commerce of the world.

But while immense sums are spent in Constantinople upon badly-organised manufactories, and other premature institutions, the Porte has continually neglected to raise the treasures which are hidden in the interior, by an improvement in the mode of communication. Without referring to the immeasurable influence which the formation of the roads from Samsun and Trebizonde would have on agriculture and trade, the work recommends itself in a financial point of view, as the first slight outlay would not only bring in large interest, in the shape of tolls and the increased customs, but would be reproduced in a proportionately short time.

Under this impression, Mr Brant, the English Consul at Erzrum, who has resided there many years, and is well acquainted with the condition of Asia Minor and Armenia, made an offer to the Turkish Government, to make the road between Trebizonde and Erzrum by means of a Joint Stock Company, on condition that they received the tolls for a certain number of years. In fact, the Porte could not have had a better offer: for it saved in this way the capital required for making the road, obtained a mode of communication, very important in a military point of view, and had also a prospect of a speedy

and considerable increase in the customs. But partly through its usual indolence, partly out of a strange suspicion, the Porte would not accept the offer. On the other hand, it certainly promised, to make the road itself—it also promised, in accordance with the demand of the former Governor, Halil Pasha, to render the harbour of Trebizonde safe: in short, it promised everything possible to assist the trade between the coast and Persia, but the road is still unmade, and the roads of Trebizonde open and unprotected.

When further it was stated, that Prince Woronzoff intended to recommence the works on the road between Redut Kalèh on the Black Sea, and the Persian frontier, and finish it within the year (1848), the Porte determined—under the apprehension that the Persian transit trade might retire from the Turkish territory to Russian Transcaucasia, on immediately making a road, which should commence at Batum, in consideration of the advantages its harbour offered, and run *viâ* Kars to Bayazid. It was not long, too, ere the Turkish governor in Trebizonde received a letter from the Vizier, in which he was informed that the contract for the formation of this road had been accepted, and arrangements were being made to set to work immediately. Five years have passed since that time, and the whole project has long been forgotten again.

The commercial relations kept up by the Pontic route may be classed in three principal divisions,

whose special objects are: first, the local trade of the Pontic countries, on their own account: secondly, the trade with the countries of the Caucasus; and thirdly, the transit trade with Persia.

Of these three branches, the most important for European manufacturing industry is the Persian transit, or the Europeo-Persian traffic taking place *viâ* Erzrum.

The Persian natural productions and raw stuffs, which are principally exported by the Pontic route, are: horses (greatly admired in Constantinople, and at times exported to England), mules, sheep (generally fat-tails from the Kurdo-Persian districts), leeches, hides, sheep and goats' skins, camel-hair, goat's hair, raw silk, wax, tallow, tembeki (a narcotic herb much used in the East, and smoked in the nargilihs or water pipes), tobacco, gall apples, saffron, alcanna (employed for dyeing the hair black), indigo, madder, manna, gum tragacanth, rice, dried fruits (as plums, apricots, almonds, pistachio, dates, &c.), opium, pipe sticks, kalems (reeds for writing), saltpetre, orpiment, sulphur, naphtha, pearls, turquoises, and other precious stones.

Of the Persian industrial productions the following are exported *viâ* Trebizonde: shawls (in Persia there are three varieties of these goods: cachemire, khorassans and kirmans, of which only the two last are manufactured in Persia), carpets (the Persian carpets surpass in fineness, strength, and durability of

the colours, the best productions of other countries), silk stuffs, embroidery goods (in which the Persians are very famous, and may vie with any country), shagreen leather (prepared from the skins of the wild ass), weapons (sabre blades, pistols, poniards, lance heads, of various forms), polished and marquetrie goods (writing implements, boxes, &c.), cut stones, as cornelians, amethysts, &c., for signet rings, and talismans.

The European goods, which are imported into Persia *viâ* Trebizonde, and are largely sold there, are as follows:—

English, Swiss, and German cottons: German and Austrian cloths and other woollens: Swiss and French silks: Austrian, German, and French fancy goods: Austrian and French glass: English sugar.

Of these wares the cottons form from eighty-five to ninety per cent. of all freight going to Persia, and England imports about eighty per cent. of this, while Switzerland has about fifteen, and Germany about five per cent. The transit trade of 2,000,000*l.* which England carries on with Turkey, is principally represented by cottons. The remainder of the importation of European goods, *viâ* Trebizonde to Persia, is occupied by cloth, glass, and sugar.

The principal part of the business done between Europe and Asia, is concentrated in the cities of Constantinople and Tauris (or Tabriz, an important commercial city on a little river flowing into Lake

Urmia), which may be regarded as the opposite commercial poles. The Frankish establishments at Constantinople, which are interested directly in the Persian trade, all have their branches in Tauris, while the Persian and Armenian houses there, have their correspondents in Constatinople. It is not the case, that European houses and manufacturers enter into direct commercial relations with Persia. The commerce with this country is consequently entirely indirect, and is settled at Constantinople by the agency of the houses engaged there in the Persian trade. These take the goods sent them on their own account, and either sell them in Constantinople to Persian dealers, or send them to their branch establishments in Tauris, whose business it is to promote their sale.

A similar state of things goes on in Persia as regards the export articles for Europe. The latter are collected in Tauris from various parts of the country, and are sent thence to Europe, all on account of the houses in Tauris, which make the purchases.

Constantinople and Tauris are therefore the two great emporiums for this traffic, while all the European and Persian towns beyond them have only an indirect share in it.

But in addition to this, a species of retail trade has been carried on from a very early date, which is in the hands of travellers coming from Persia. They are partly native Persians, partly Armenians, Turcomans, from China and Bokhara, and they undertake

their long journeys not always for the sake of trading merely, but it is at times the pilgrimage to Mecca, at times other business, which causes their journey. Still it is always the custom of these persons to provide themselves with some merchandize, proportioned to their finances, in the Persian manufacturing towns through which they pass, and usually consisting of arms, marquetrie work, shawls, carpet and silks; with these they trade during the whole of their journey. A portion of their stock is disposed of in Erzrum and Trebizonde, the greater part in Constantinople, and the remainder in Smyrna and Alexandria. The profits generally serve for the purchase of Frank goods, with which they trade their way back to the most distant parts of Asia. The goods which the various persons carry with them are frequently only of the value of a few thousand piastres: but if we regard the great number of these pilgrims, we shall see that they do a very considerable amount of traffic.

Among the commercial travellers coming from Persia, there are besides some who carry on a much larger trade, and regularly visit the European markets. To this class the Armenians of Tauris, Tiflis, and Erivan belong. They generally bring shawls, jewels, and pearls, and carry back with them European fabrics. Their business is generally transacted in Constantinople, but still they frequently go to the fairs of Vienna, Leipzig and Moscow, and in later times even to Lyons and Marseilles, to make their

purchases. Before the development of the regular trade relations between Constantinople and Tauris, the Perso-European trade was entirely in the hands of these Armenians, who even now carry on nearly the exclusive trade in cloth, glass, and short wares.

We need not repeat here that Trebizonde plays an important part in the Persian transit trade on the Pontic route, although it does not really form an emporium of this traffic. For there are no wholesale purchasers there or sales for the Persian markets, and consequently the requisite goods are not stored there in large amounts. But, as an outlet, Trebizonde is of the highest importance. There the caravan route is connected with the line of steamers on the Black Sea: and thence the unloading and further transmission of all the merchandize exchanged between Persia and Europe upon the Pontic route takes place there. All the houses in Constantinople and Tauris engaged in the Persian trade have their correspondents or representatives there: and therefore, instead of taking a direct part in the Persian trade, the Trebizonde houses prefer merely to arrange the transit of the goods, whence they obtain a certain profit all the year round. There are other causes which have had a very beneficial effect for this town. The numerous travellers who arrive from Persia and return again, have led to the erection of a great number of khans or inns, where they find lodgings. The transport of persons and goods employs thousands of mules and

horses. Porters, seamen, and brokers are busily engaged in the trade, whence a great deal of money flows into the town. Although, on the other hand, Trebizonde carries on a large trade on its own account with the adjoining Turkish provinces, still it principally owes its present prosperity to the Persian transit trade.

The duties to which we need refer in the Perso-European trade are, the Turkish transit, and the Persian import and export, dues.

The Turkish transit duty amounts to three per cent. As this is paid immediately on the merchandize entering Turkey, in case the goods are intended for Persia, there is nothing further to pay. The sender merely obtains at Constantinople a cocket (Ilmihaber), upon which, as soon as the goods reach Erzrum, he has their destination for Persia entered, and on showing this he is freed from the additional two per cent. in Constantinople, with which the goods would have been debited, had they been intended for sale in Turkey.

The opposite takes place between the Custom houses of Erzrum and Constantinople, with reference to those goods which pass through from Persia *en route* to European ports.

The Russians and English first came to an arrangement with Persia that their merchandize, both import and export, shall pay a fixed duty of five per cent. This arrangement was afterwards extended by the

Persian government to all goods imported and exported by Europeans, without reference as to whether commercial treaties had been made with these governments. The Persian merchants pay in their own country only an import and export duty of one and a half per cent., but have in addition several other dues to pay, which bring the amount up to three per cent.

The Persian duty is paid at the frontier Custom house of Choi or Khoi, W. N. W. from Tauris, and like that city, in the Persian province of Aserbeidjan, or more frequently in Tauris.

As not only the customs at Erzrum, but also those in Persia, are farmed to private persons, the merchants frequently enter into arrangements with them.

Although the customs of Constantinople are directly administered on behalf of the government, still, through the frauds that occur there, similar arrangements frequently take place. The exporters consequently generally pay much less than they ought to do according to the existing tariff. A great quantity of merchandize finds its way to and from Persia without any payment of duty, which, through the defective customs regulations in these countries, is rendered very easy.

In 1831 the whole number of bales sent *viâ* Trebizonde, exported and imported, was about 9,000, and we have no data by which to estimate their value.

In 1848 the total amount of bales sent *viâ* Trebizonde, with their estimated value, was:

Imported into Persia,

50,277 bales, valued at £1,385,317.

Exported from Persia,

10,456 bales, valued at £151,150.

The year 1831 has been selected, as it was the first in which goods to any amount intended for Persia reached Trebizonde.

Since that year the imports into Persia have rapidly increased, and there is every reason to believe that this progression will go on, as European goods are beginning to be valued in China, Bokhara, and other portions of Central Asia, so that the merchants of those countries are more frequently seen at Persian markets for the purpose of purchasing them.

The Persian exports have also increased since the employment of the Pontic route, though in less proportion to the imports. They reached their culminating point, 23,278 bales, in 1836, when considerable quantities of raw silk and Tombiki were exported *viâ* Trebizonde. From that time they remained nearly stationary until, after 1846, a gradual declension became perceptible, chiefly arising from the fact that several Persian articles, as raw silk, gall apples, &c., are less inquired after in Europe than formerly.

Regarding the state of things in 1849 and 1850 we may, in round numbers, take the imports into

Persia *viâ* Trebizonde, as representing a value of 1,300,000*l.*, and the exports at 165,000*l.*, so that Persia was annually drained of about 1,000,000*l.* of money. According to the declarations of the steam-boat agencies, these sums amounted to

In 1843,	36,000,000	Turkish	piastres,	or £360,000
1844,	45,000,000	„	„	450,000
1845,	63,000,000	„	„	630,000
1846,	58,500,000	„	„	580,000
1847,	78,750,000	„	„	787,500
1848,	72,060,000	„	„	720,600

The above sums, however, furnish a very imperfect idea of the actual cash payments, as, on one hand, the amounts handed to the agents are sealed up, and frequently declared at a much lower value, to save freightage; and on the other hand, the amount of money, in the baggage of travellers, is not estimated at all.

THE TRADE OF THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

THE TRADE OF THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

We will now turn to the commercial relations of the Danubian Principalities, which we have already stated were only known at the close of the past century to the mercantile world by the Armenian, Greek, and Jewish purchasers, who appeared at the Leipzic fairs, and that obstacles of various descriptions prevented any direct intercourse with them.

This state of things, has, however, been most materially altered, especially during the first few years after the treaty of Adrianople (1829), for Moldavia, Wallachia, and eventually, Bulgaria, have since then entered into commercial relations with the whole world. Their towns have become populous, agriculture has extended, and their trade acquired an extraordinary development, and through the fertility of the soil, and the favourable climate and geographical position of these countries, if they are not disturbed in their course of development by political convulsions, they will attain an unexampled pitch of prosperity.

Two circumstances have mainly affected this ame-

lioration in the condition of the Turkish Danubian Provinces; free exportation of all the productions of the soil, and the establishment of an uninterrupted line of steam navigation between Vienna and Constantinople

Through the abolition of restrictions on the export trade, Moldavia and Wallachia, and eventually Bulgaria, have been opened up to maritime trade; they have been enabled to dispose of their productions, which reach by water the great European emporiums, and manufactured colonial goods, &c., flow back from the west through the return traffic.

Through the steamboats, the countries of the Lower Danube have been brought into uninterrupted communication between themselves, and with Central Europe on one side and Constantinople on the other; and the splendid river has proved itself to be the shortest commercial route from Western Europe to the Levant. From its outset the direction of the commerce of these provinces was decided by the Danube; each of the numerous coast towns, from the Iron gate to the Sulina mouth, forms a station on the route to the Levant, an export place for the natural productions of the countries to the east and west, and an emporium for European manufactures, which are carried into the interior from the Danube on the primitive routes.

The merchant vessels entering the Danube do not usually sail up the river higher than Galatz (on the confluence of the Pruth with the Danube, and

belonging to Moldavia), and Braila (belonging to Wallachia, on the left bank of the Danube, eighteen miles above Galatz). From the point above this limit of the sea navigation, the transit is left to river boats. The commercial activity of the towns lying within the reach of the latter is therefore more or less local, and is decided by the size of the district, of which they form the port. All the traffic is therefore collected in the two towns of Braila and Galatz, which, as seaports, engross the whole active commerce of the countries of the Lower Danube, and direct the commercial movements, not with reference to the local requirements, but in accordance with the state of European trade, in whose conjunctures and crises the two Danubian ports take an active and a passive share.

The conditions of the trade relations of the Turkish Danubian provinces must therefore be regarded under two aspects,—the sea and river navigation.

We will first consider the river navigation and the commerce connected with it, from Orsova (a town belonging to Servia, on an island situated below Belgrade) to Braila and Galatz.

The goods intended for the Principalities and the Levant are carried to Orsova by means of steamers, and then in boats through the Iron gate to Skela-Cladovi (in Wallachia), or to Cladosnitza (in Servia), in order to be taken further by steamer, ac-

cording as they are intended for Wallachia, Bulgaria, or Constantinople.

The Iron gate, or Demir Kapi, is a rapid, 200 paces in breadth, just below Orsova, whose dangerous reefs, although blown up in 1834, still do not always suffer the passage of heavily laden vessels.

Skela-Cladovi is a Wallachian port on the Danube, thirteen miles below Orsova. Opposite to it, on the right bank of the Danube, is the Servian port of Cladosnitza. Widdin is a Bulgarian town, a fortress on the right bank of the Danube, eighty miles below Orsova. Opposite Widdin, on the right bank, is Kalafat, or Calafat. About twenty-five miles below Widdin, on the right bank, is the Wallachian commercial town, Lom Palanka. Further down the stream, on the right bank, is the Bulgarian port, Oreava. Then come the Bulgarian towns on the right bank, Nicopoli or Nicopolis, Sistow or Sistova, and Rutschuk. Opposite Rutschuk, on the left bank, is the Wallachian town of Giurgevo. Further down the river, on the right bank, is the Bulgarian town and fortress of Silistria. Below Silistria, on the same side of the river, is the Bulgarian town Rassova, and then we come to Braila and Galatz.

Through the steam navigation in the year 1847,* there were exported from Austria and the German

* We have chosen the year 1847 to furnish our data, as the Danubian trade was entirely stopped by the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, and has hardly yet recovered from the effects.

Customs Union *viâ* Orsova to the Danubian Principalities and the Levant, 60,064 Vienna cwts. of merchandize, of the assumed value of nearly 1,000,000*l.*; or 21,936 cwts. more than in the preceding year. These goods chiefly consisted of silks, cloth, trowserings, Vienna shawls, and other woollen goods, cottons, and calicoes, short goods, porcelain and glass wares, leather articles, paper, ready-made clothes, stearine candles, &c., partly the industrial productions of Germany, partly English and French goods from the Leipzig fairs.

These goods were divided as follows:

Skela-Cladovi	878	cwts.
Cladosnitza	17	„
Widdin	1,203	„
Kalafat	132	„
Lom Palanka	261	„
Oreava	1	„
Sistova	348	„
Rutschuk	5,297	„
Giurgevo	20,636	„
Silistria	92	„
Braila	2,395	„
Galatz	10,030	„
Odessa	635	„
Constantinople	17,085	„
Salonichi	661	„
Smyrna	358	„
Trebizonde	32	„

The exports of wool, tallow, silk, leather, and various goods carried *viâ* Orsova from the Principalities to Austria, weighed 178,448 Vienna cwts. Of these Wallachia exported 167,194, and Bulgaria, 11,254 cwts.

But besides the steam communication, a brisk trade is carried on *viâ* Orsova by other river boats. Thus, in the year 1847, 29,348 cwts. of goods, were imported *viâ* Orsova into Turkey Proper and Wallachia; consisting of iron, steel, copper utensils, and locksmiths' work, glass, cotton, and calicoes, dyes and coals, alum, lead, brass goods, groceries, woodwork, silver, &c. The exports from Turkey Proper and Wallachia, by the same route to Hungary, amounted to 7,200 cwts. wool, 7,000 cwts. tallow, 4,415 cwts. sheep and goat skins, 1,643 cwts. sumach, and 5,710 cwts. of salt-fish, caviare, honey, wax, rice, meal, and, in addition to this, 261,268 quarters of wheat.

Bulgarian corn, especially that growing in the vicinity of Sistova, is excellent, and preferred to the Wallachian. The Pacha of Widdin exercises a species of monopoly, and by means of a connection with a commercial house, governs the exportation of agricultural productions. He buys cheaper than private persons, who are, besides, exposed to the annoyances of the Turkish Custom officers, against whom numerous complaints are made. In addition, the export duty, which amounts to twelve per cent., is very unfairly raised, and many articles are subjected to a higher

tariff than the legal one. In consequence of this, much smuggling takes place, and the old route by the Danube has been partly given up. Many Bulgarian goods, which were formerly sent away by water, now go by land through Servia, where the old *ad valorem* duty of three per cent. is still in force.

Besides the Danubian ports and commercial towns, at whose geographical position we rapidly glanced, there are on the low Wallachian bank, below Skela-Cladovi, which is frequently overflowed, the ports of Tchernetz, Isvor, Kalafat (with the finest bay in the fertile district of Little Wallachia), then Islaz, Turno, Simnitza, and Kalarask. All these towns furnish the market of Braila with considerable quantities of wheat and other agricultural productions. The most important port on the Wallachian side for the river navigation is Giurgevo, which can also be considered as the outport of Bucharest, from which it is only twenty-three miles. By the Danubian steamers in the year 1848, 22,719 cwts. of merchandize were imported into Giurgevo, and besides these, seventy-seven Vienna carriages were landed for Bucharest.

Silistria, the ancient capital of Bulgaria, has greatly fallen off since the war of 1829, and takes but little part in the Danubian trade. The neighbourhood, however, is carefully cultivated, and the wheat is of a good quality. Great quantities are consequently exported annually to Braila and the surrounding country.

The wool exported from the Danubian provinces is not so much derived from native sheep as from those which are annually driven here, to pasture, from Transylvania. We shall therefore be permitted to say a few words about the Transylvanian cattle trade.

The highlands formed by the north-eastern spur of the Balkan, which run from Silistria parallel with the Danube as far as Tultcha in the Dobrutscha, possess excellent pasturage on their slopes and in the vallies. This pasture land is principally used by Transylvanian shepherds, who carry on trading here to a large extent, far from their homes, under peculiar conditions guaranteed by agreements and precedent.

These shepherds, known by the name of Mokans, wander yearly in autumn with their numerous flocks of sheep and goats, as well as droves of horses, from Transylvania to Wallachia and Moldavia, cross the Danube at Giurgevo, Kalarasch, or Braila, and spend the winter partly in north-eastern Bulgaria, in the districts between Tultcha and Varna, partly in the lowlands of the Dobrudscha on the Danube.

Their flocks remain in every season, by day and night, in the open air, in heavy snow-storms they are driven into the bottoms, which are covered with reeds and oziers, which afford them some protection: here they are fed with hay, but frequently, if the winter lasts long, and the stock of hay is devoured, the poor starving animals eat ozier twigs

and pealed bark, through which a great number perish.

With the first beams of the spring sun the flocks are driven to the higher pasturage, where they speedily recover from the privations of the winter. The Mokans then attend to the lambing and shearing, and drive the flocks back to Transylvania in June ; still many of them remain the whole summer in Bulgaria. The larger traders also have herds of oxen, and hire from the Turkish Ayani or landlords grazing grounds, in which they breed. These immigrations of the Mokans into Bulgaria have taken place from time immemorial, and are based on primitive custom and later ample conventions with the Ottoman Porte.

The Transylvanian shepherds in Bulgaria enjoy the privileges of Austrian subjects: they are, as such, free from the taxes, to which the Raiahs are subjected, and are under the jurisdiction of the Austrian consulate at Galatz. Spite of repeated attempts on the part of the Turkish local authorities to make the Mokans pay taxes, their privileges have ever been maintained by the exertions of their consul or authorities. At present they only pay, in addition to their own private rent (Miri) for the right of pasturage, a small sum (Saimak Para) for each flock.

The cattle driven to Bulgaria for the winter differ according to circumstances. If the summer had been dry and the pasture lands burnt up by the sun, and if there is little hay in the country, the Mokans prefer

remaining in Transylvania and Wallachia: if, on the other hand, the pasture is abundant, they cross the Danube with their flocks. In the winter of 1846-1847 there was only 250,000 Transylvanian sheep in Bulgaria, of which about 30,000 died through the severe weather in March. In the spring of 1847 these sheep yielded 830,000 lbs of wool. In addition to this 46,764 sheep and goat skins and 6,000 lamb skins brought to market by the Mokans and sold at eight Turkish piastres a pair.

In the autumn of 1847, when the pasturage was in good condition, 281 Transylvanian herds crossed the Danube, consisting of 2,095 horses, 4,454 goats, and 473,353 sheep.

These herds were under the charge of 4,189 shepherds, called Esobani: besides these there are many Transylvanian shepherds in the service of Turkish and Bulgarian breeders, so that the number of Mokans at that time in Bulgaria must have been at least 5,000.

If we average the value of a sheep at 25 Turkish piastres (5s.), and a horse at 500 piastres (5*l.*), this would give a capital of fourteen and a half millions of Turkish piastres (1,450,000*l.*), belonging to Transylvania. A sheep on the average yields two to two and a half okkas (five to six pounds), of wool, and 600 lambs are annually reckoned to every 1,000 sheep. In the spring of 1849 the Transylvanian sheep in Bulgaria yielded 1,200,000 okkas or 27,000 Vienna

hundredweight of wool, which was sold on the spot at four to four and a half Turkish piastres per okka. A portion of this wool is washed in the Danube, by which a loss in weight of thirty-five per cent. is experienced, and then carried per steamer to Orsova: but the greater part is sent unwashed to Kronstadt in Transylvania, there cleaned and sorted, and dressed for the trade. The Mokan wool is of two sorts: the long-haired Zigaya wool, and the sort called Czurkana. The former is sent to Pesth and Vienna, and sold at about 5*l.* per hundredweight. The other ordinary sort is worked up at Kronstadt into a species of coarse but very rough cloth (dimik). The freight from Bulgaria to Kronstadt costs about two-pence per okka: and the transport from Kronstadt to Vienna costs from six to eight shillings per hundredweight.

The wool belonging to Transylvanian Mokans pays no duty at Kronstadt, if it is accompanied by the export bills of a corresponding number of sheep. The expenses of the Mokans for their flocks are moderate, and are confined to the rent for the pasturage, of 2,000, to 3,000 piastres (20 to 30*l.*), for a flock of a thousand, and to the expense of hay in winter, which differs according to the weather, but may be reckoned at from three to four piastres for each sheep. The cost of the shepherds is remarkably trifling, and their wages are partly paid them in sheep or lambs, by which they acquire in time their own flocks. From

this we can see, that the primitive customs of the pastoral tribes have remained in their integrity among the Mokans.

The horses bred in the fertile pasturage around Silistria and Hirsova, and in the district of Kustendje, are generally sold to the Austrian commission of remounts at an average price of twenty-three ducats.

In Wallachia also, especially in the districts of Braila and Rimnik, numerous Transylvanian breeders have settled as farmers, and the number of sheep kept there may be estimated at 500,000.

The Mokans belong to the Wallachian race, and their mode of life is very simple. They live in earthen houses, are hardened against every sort of weather, dress in coarse linen and sheep skins, and generally live on millet broth (Mamaliga), the national food of Wallachia. They are still on a very low standard of education, although upon a higher one than their brethren in Wallachia, and have the virtues and vices of nomadizing nations. Many of them are well off, and have in addition to their numerous flocks, considerable sums in ready money.

In former times, Wallachia, or perhaps Moldavia, formed the limits of their migrations. The extension of agriculture, however, deprived them of the greater portion of their pasturage, and they therefore go in numbers to Bulgaria, whence, through the scanty population, more than three-fourths of the arable ground lies fallow. In these countries, therefore,

there will be sufficient space for their flocks for many years: still it cannot be denied, that the mode and custom of trading as carried on by the Mokans is irreconcilable with the progress made in agriculture, and it will, therefore, end some day in Bulgaria. These breeders will then be forced to put up with the system of stall feeding, as soon as the cultivation of corn is more extended.

We will now take a glance at the trade of the Turkish principalities, and at the land trade of Moldavia and Wallachia. We have already spoken of the trade of the principalities, *viâ* the Danube: but we have still to notice the trade in Leipzig goods and with Transylvania *viâ* Kronstadt.

In these two branches of trade, which have been established by long usage, there have been fewer changes than in the water trade.

The Bucharest merchants who visited Leipzig fair in Michaelmas 1847, purchased goods to the value of a million dollars, in addition to those they took with them on their return journey through Vienna. At the two Leipzig fairs of 1847 the Moldavian and Wallachian customers purchased goods to the value of two and a half million of dollars: consisting of English calicos, half-woollen goods, Jacquards, Orleans, Lyonnese figured and plain silks, Elberfeld and Berlin silks, Saxon merinos, Scotch linen, woollen goods of various descriptions, Saxon and Rhenish cloths, short goods from the German Zollverein, &c. French and

Netherland cloths were too dear for the principalities. Of Vienna goods, shawls, carpets, trowserings and gloves were most sought after.

The Transylvanian industrial productions, or Kronstadt wares (as they are usually called in the principalities), articles of necessary consumption in town and country, had a sale in 1847 of 2,044,000 florins. These goods are generally all made in Kronstadt: as the sales are retail, it requires no large capital, but, of course, the profits are small. In addition to this, the iron-wares, window and door fittings made in Kronstadt, have been driven out of the field by the English goods. Belgian window-glass has also found its way to the Danubian principalities.

To the principalities the industrial productions of Gallicia and the Bukovina are also sent, consisting of coarse cloth and linen, window-glass, light carriages, &c. These articles are sold at the much-frequented markets of Bottuschan and Foltischan.

The trade between Moldavia and Wallachia has been greatly promoted by the customs' union ratified by the two principalities in 1848.

As regards the sea trade of the lower Danubian countries, the whole traffic of Galatz and Braila possessed a declared value of £3,561,000, which shewed an increase of nearly one million and a half since the year 1845.

The manufactures brought to the two Danubian ports by sea were generally the productions of Eng-

land, who governs the market in steel, iron, and tin goods; in spun wares, plain and coloured calicos, muslins, goods mixed with cotton, and machine linen.

Of the 7,569 bales of spun and woven goods imported into the two ports in 1847, 6,856 entered under English, Ionian, Greek, and Austrian flags from Great Britain; Bralia imported English goods exclusively. All the iron ware, weighing 49,000 Vienna cwt., was (with the exception of about 4,600 cwt. of Russian iron) entirely English. The total value of the industrial productions imported into the two Danubian ports under the English flag was £252,750.

From Braila and Galatz, wheat was exported principally to Marseilles, Genoa, and Leghorn, and a small quantity to England.

The steam navigation developed in 1849 great activity in the ports of Braila and Galatz. The sea line between Constantinople and Galatz, with the intermediate stations of Varna, Tultcha, and Braila, was carried out with the greatest punctuality by the Austrian Lloyd. In the same way the line of steamers established in the previous year between Galatz and Odessa was fully occupied. The Russian steamer employed to keep up this communication carried goods to Galatz valued at £36,000, and from Galatz goods in value £70,000.

The Turko-Danubian port of Tultcha, at the northern extremity of Bulgaria, between Galatz and

the mouths of the Danube, opposite the Russo-Bessarabian shore, is a much-frequented station, as the majority of the Danubian vessels touch there to get provisions, to prepare for the necessary operations of lightering at the Sulina mouths, and to take in or land pilots.

Among the Bulgarian ports in the Black Sea in 1847, Varna was visited by 200 vessels, and Baltschik and Kavarna by 231 vessels.

Of the Rumelian ports in the Black Sea, Burgas, Ankiolo, and Missevria were visited by 131 vessels.

These vessels brought coffee, sugar, oil, pepper, window-glass, nails, twist, cottons, and other manufactures, generally English; and exported corn, meal, tallow, eggs, rose-water, &c.

Of Servia we need only say that in addition to Orsova and Cladosnitza, the town of Usicza deserves mention as the centre of the trade of West Servia, and that Belgrade is distinguished by its manufactories of arms, carpets, silks, cotton, and leather.

HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

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HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

FROM THE INVASION OF EUROPE TO THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1453.

WITHOUT some account of the history of the Turkish empire,—even though compressed into the narrowest limits—any description of the condition of Turkey at the present moment would be highly defective, and there would be much which would appear almost inexplicable, through the innumerable gaps which would be perceptible in the political relations of Turkey to other nations.

All who are conversant with the history of the Roman empire, are aware, that when the West Roman dominion was destroyed, the name of the Turks was utterly unknown. It was unknown during the entire era of the great Migration, and remained so during the first centuries after the establishment of Islamism. It was not till the commencement of the Crusades, or the earlier part of the twelfth century,

that aught was known of the Sedjuks, who, although identical with the Turks, had not then formed the slightest idea that they would hereafter become the terror of Europe during a long series of years. The Byzantine empire had been stripped of its African, and the greater portion of its Asiatic, territories, by the resistless hordes of the Muhammadan Arabians, and its capital had been frequently besieged by them: but it had also seen the Arabian Chalifate fall into a state of ruin, and eventually be destroyed by the Mongolians, who, in 1258, took Bagdad by storm, and dragged the last Chalif, Motazem, through the streets sewn up in a cowhide.

If, therefore, the Greeks or Byzantines entertained any apprehension of being attacked in their last European stronghold by new Asiatic conquerors, they would naturally seek for them in the Mongolians, rather than in the Sedjuks, although the latter were in closer proximity to them. In the following fourteenth century, they might have perceived that their most dangerous enemies were the Osmanli—as the Turks even called themselves at that day—if their eyes had not been blinded. But they learned to estimate the full power of the Turks when it was too late, and Western Europe discovered, through the fall of Constantinople in 1453, that the Turks were conquerors from whom the worst might be apprehended—although Hungary had had a more than sufficient experience of this half a century earlier.

The original home of the Turks was the Altaï range, whence they descended into the fruitful steppes of Independent Tartary. This country is situated between Asiatic Russia, and Eastern Persia (Affghanistân and Beloochistân) and between the Caspian Sea and the Chinese Empire. The Turks divided themselves into the Uigurs or Eastern Turks—who remained in Turkistân, where their descendants—more especially the Turkomans, still reside—and into the Oghus or Western Turks. It is with the latter alone, that we have anything to do.

The Turks, like all the other non-Christian nations subjugated by the Arabians—assumed Islamism, after the Arabs had extended their conquests in the seventh century over Persia and Turkestân: and the Chalifs formed out of this people, who were so dauntless in every danger, the finest bands of warriors. The commanders of these troops became eventually Viceroys of the subjugated territories, and finally independent rulers. Among these, Sedjuk distinguished himself, in the ninth century, who took possession of the best provinces of the Chalifate, comprising the greater portion of Western Asia. But this great empire, on the death of the third Sultan in 1092, was divided into five smaller kingdoms, in consequence of internal commotions, and fell into the power of other Turkish hordes during the Crusades: so that the last fragment of the empire of Sedjuk, Iconium in Asia Minor, only maintained its independence till the end

of the thirteenth century, when it was overrun and broken up by the Mongolians.

Several emirs of the Turkish troops, who had served the Sultan of Iconium, retired to the Taurus mountains, from which place they ravaged the surrounding territory, and maintained their independence against the Mongolians. One of these emirs was OSMAN (1299—1326), after whom, as the founder of a new and independent dynasty, the Turks received the name they bear to the present day. When Osman announced his intention of setting out on more extended expeditions, his uncle opposed it: and the nephew, inflamed with the passion of a despot who suffers no opposition, murdered the aged man—a deed which, according to von Hammer, "indicates the horrible commencement of the Turkish dominion, and forms the sanguinary threshold of the long gallery of murders of relations which the successive governments filled up."

From this epoch an endless succession of expeditions commenced, which ever led the insatiable Turks further. At the same time other Turkish chieftains fell upon the nearest Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor. Osman's son, Orchan (1326—1360), chose Brusa as his residence, and speedily conquered Nicæa and Nicomedia. As Osman, through his warlike career, had not been able to devote much time to the internal administration of the state, it was Orchan's first care to give his rapidly increasing principality

a constitution. In this undertaking he was supported by his learned brother, Ala-ed-din. These new arrangements bore reference to the coinage, the sumptuary laws, and the army. The right of coining money is one of the two privileges conceded by Islamism to the Ruler: the other is the name of the prince being mentioned in the service performed every Friday in the mosque. From this era the present Turkish coins date.

The second object of Orchan's legislative care was the institution of sumptuary laws, which were not restricted to clothes, but embraced their colour and the head-covering. Although at a later date the pattern, stuff, and decorations of the various caftans, dolmans, pelisses of state and honour were most clearly appointed, Orchan's attention was chiefly confined to the head-covering, which has always been in the East a method of distinguishing nations and ranks. To keep the Osmanli separate from other nations, more especially the Greeks, caps of white felt were ordered to be the universal covering of the warriors and servants of the princes—their form was conical.

The third and most important of Ala-ed-din's institutions was the army, consisting of a paid and regular body of soldiers. Osman had carried on his expedition at the head of a body of Turcoman horse, who, known by the name of Akindji (marauders or runners), followed their leader at the first signal into the field. Orchan first collected a body of paid and regular infantry, who were called Jaya-Piade, that is

footmen. This band, growing arrogant through their regular pay, only increased the disorder which their institution was intended to remove. The commander of the Faithful then carried out the clever but heartless scheme of forming a body composed of Christian youths who were found to embrace Islamism. They were called the new troop, Yani Tcher, and the name of the Janissaries was soon borne on the wings of victory through Europe and Asia.

The white felt cap of the Janissaries was adorned with a piece of cloth hanging down behind and representing an arm, as a symbol of victory: in front, instead of a plume, a spoon was fastened, as a sign of their prosperity. On the blood-red flag glistened the silver crescent and the two-edged sword of Osman. As an augury of the careful attention the new troop would receive from Government, the names of the officers were derived from the requirements of the kitchen. The Colonel, for instance, was called Tjorbadji, or the Soup-maker. A meat-kettle was the Oriflamme of the regiment, round which they collected not only to eat, but to consult. The number of the Janissaries was at first one thousand; each year a thousand more christian youths were selected from the prisoners and forced to join the regiment, and if the number of prisoners was not sufficient, this augmentation was made up from the children of christian subjects, until the reign of Muhammad IV, when the ruin of the troop commenced with the recruiting taking place among their own children.

After the formation of the Janissaries, as the nucleus of the Osmanli army, its other components were regulated in the following fashion. The former regular infantry, the Piade, received plots of ground, which were afterwards converted into fiefs, on the condition that they should keep the roads in good order, during the campaign. The irregular infantry were converted into rowers on board the galleys. The cavalry, like the infantry, was both regular and irregular. The paid, regular cavalry formed four squadrons, at first amounting to 2,400 men, but afterwards greatly increased, and stood on the right and left of the sacred flag and of the Sultan, in the field of battle.

In addition to the paid cavalry, whom the West soon learned to fear under the name of Sipahis, a mounted troop was also formed, on the same footing as the Piade. They were called Mosselim, or men freed from taxes. The irregular horse, who were neither paid nor glebœ adscripti, were still called Akindji. These and the Sipahis soon became the terror of Christian Europe. During the first seige of Vienna, they ravaged Germany, and in their marauding expeditions even reached Ratisbon.

Orchan was the first Sultan of the Osmanli empire. Cantacuzenus joined with him to attack John V, Palæologus, and even gave him his daughter in marriage; and the Turks seized upon every opportunity to benefit by the dissensions in the Byzantine empire.

Orchan's son, Soliman, was the first prince who entertained the idea of gaining a firm footing in Europe. An earthquake about this time severely injured the towns in the Thracian littoral, and threw down their walls. Through these openings the Turks forced their way into the towns, and fortified themselves in them. The most important of these conquests was the town of Gallipoli, then called Callipolis, the key of the Hellespont, and the emporium of the Greek and Eastern trade.

Soliman died before his father, in consequence of a fall from his horse (he was the first Osmanli prince buried in Europe); and consequently, on Orchan's death, his younger brother, Murad I, mounted the throne (1359-1389). The latter conquered the whole country from the Hellespont to the Balkan, and made Adrianople the chief seat of his empire. For the first time the Greeks were surrounded in their capital by the same foe both in Europe and Asia. But it was not alone the Greek empire that was menaced. The appearance of the Muhammadans in regions which had been inaccessible even to the Arabians under the first fervor of Islamism, was a cause of terror to the adjoining countries, if not to all Europe, and after Pope Urban V had preached a crusade against the Turks, the rulers of Hungary, Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia united in a war against the common foe. They were, however, defeated, and the Sclavonic tribes between the Danube and the

Adriatic became either tributary or entirely subject to the Turks. They attempted several insurrections, but without any permanent result.

In a rebellion of the Servians, in connection with the Albanians and the Bosnians, Murad found the termination of his glory and of his life. The Turks gained in 1389 a decisive victory on the Amselfeld in Servia; but after the end of the battle, Murad fell by the hand of a Servian noble, by name Milosh Kobilowitch, under circumstances which bear a most romantic tinge. The Sultan was going over the field of battle, accompanied by his Vizier, in order to gaze on the multitude of victims who had fallen before his prowess. He remarked after a while, "It would be strange, were my dream of last night to come true. I saw myself murdered by a hostile hand. But," he added, "dreams are the creation of the fancy; it cannot be possible." This was heard by a Servian, who lay among the dead, but had not yet expired, and he concluded that the Sultan stood before him. Collecting his last despairing energies, he rose suddenly and stabbed the Sultan. The Servian was of course cut to pieces, but the Sultan also expired within two hours. Before he died, however, he ordered the execution of Lazarus, the captured King of Servia.

If we consider how long the military system had already existed in Europe, and how many great warriors this portion of the world had already pro-

duced, it seems extraordinary that an Asiatic nation, which within three generations had been a poor, small horde, could gain such victories against those martial elements, and even cause Europe to tremble during several centuries. But this may be easily explained by the fact that the most perfect union existed on the part of the Turks, and the contrary on that of the Europeans. Through union, the old Romans, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII, Frederick II, and Napoleon gained their victories; while, on the other hand, the war of the united Powers against Napoleon is a solitary instance in the world's history where alliances against any powerful autocrat have perfectly fulfilled their design. But the victorious progress of the Turkish arms is not only explicable through the existing union—through the uninterrupted succession of warlike rulers, not brought up in the harem, but in the battle-field, who, inflamed by a thirst for victory, worked with all their energies to effect one object, without regard for aught else—but also through the cleverly-chosen and highly beneficial measures employed to promote this design. Among these was the formation of a regular body of infantry, at a time when the whole of Christian Europe was ignorant of such an arrangement.

Murad's son, Bajazet I (1389-1402), succeeded his father, and revealed his character immediately, by the murder of his brother, whose only crime consisted in the fact that he was his brother. In-

justice and tyranny were at the same time the prominent features of his reign; he was violent and unrestrained in his outbreaks of passion, and was the first Osmanli Sultan who drank wine in opposition to the commands of the Koran. Through the rapidity of his victories over Christians and Mussulmans from the Danube to the Euphrates, he acquired the surname of Ilderim (Lightning). He crossed the Danube, took possession of nearly all the towns belonging to the Byzantines in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly; invaded Greece, and subjugated the greater portion of Asia Minor. Simultaneously, a Turkish army conquered Wallachia, and carried on the war in Bosnia and Hungary.

In 1392, Sigismund, King of Hungary, advanced against the Turks in Bulgaria, and though victorious at first was eventually forced to retreat. He then appealed to the other European princes, representing to them the danger that menaced them, and prayed for assistance. A special embassy was sent to France, and moved the compassion of that nation by a representation of a cruelty exercised by the Turks against the Christians, and found an influential patron in Philip the Bold of Burgundy. He sent his only son the Count de Nevers to war against the Turks, and the flower of the French nobility accompanied him. The number of this army amounted to a thousand knights, the same number of soldiers, and 6,000 mercenaries.

The march of this army through Germany resembled rather that of an extravagant court than of a band of warriors, so greatly did they yield to pleasure and enjoyment. Pesth was the general rendezvous, where the French and Hungarians were joined by bands of Germans. The number of warriors led by Sigismund against the Turks amounted to 60,000, and this army would have been sufficiently powerful to repulse the enemy, had not arrogance and disunion caused their destruction. The French knights boasted that they would support the sky itself with their lances, if it fell upon them, no thought of a defeat crossed their proud impetuous minds, and it seemed an easy matter to them, not only to drive the Turks out of Europe, but to advance into Asia and free the Holy Sepulchre. The campaign was opened by the siege of Nicopolis. Bajazet hurried up to the assistance of the garrison. The Europeans would not at first believe the truth of the rumour of his approach, and the preparations for battle were hurriedly commenced, when the news was only too certain.

The day of this unhappy battle was the 28th September, 1396. To no purpose did Sigismund intreat the French not to waste their strength on the light Turkish cavalry, but await the advance of the Janissaries and Spahis. They regarded this as an insult to their honour, and rushed madly and inconsiderately to battle. Thousands fell before them, and the victory might possibly have been gained, had

they not rashly dispersed in pursuit, ere they came up with the nucleus of Bajajet's army. When they perceived this phalanx their spirits sank. The majority fled in terror; a few only sought and found an honourable death, but even flight could not save the rest. The Comte de Nevers was taken prisoner with twenty-one of his most illustrious comrades in arms. In vain did Sigismund now lead up his Bavarian and Styrian knights and a body of his brave Hungarians. The fate of the day was decided by the Servians, who were the confederates of the Turks. Sigismund escaped with great difficulty on board a boat on the Danube.

When Bajazet on the next morning surveyed the battle-field, and saw 60,000 of his soldiers lying dead, he wept for grief, and swore to revenge the death of so many Turks upon the captives. After the French knights had been reserved for the sake of the heavy ransom, the Sultan ordered a massacre, and 10,000 of the prisoners had been killed, ere his magnates cast themselves at his feet and implored mercy for the rest, which he conceded. The Comte de Nevers and his comrades pined in captivity until they were liberated by a ransom of 200,000 ducats. Bajazet was only prevented by a severe attack of gout from pursuing his victorious career in the west, but his troops advanced far into Styria and burned Pettau.

In the meanwhile the terrible Tamerlane had subverted the most powerful thrones in Asia, and had

advanced to the Euphrates on the appeal for assistance from the Greek Court of Trebizonde. In 1400 he conquered the Pontic town of Sebaste (now called Sivas) and executed Bajazet's son, who fell into his hands on this occasion. Bajazet, who was then before the walls of Constantinople, raised the siege and hurried to Asia Minor. Tamerlane had in the meantime marched southwards, and in a very short space of time, Aleppo, Damascus, and Bagdad, fell before his powerful army. At last, the Turkish and Mongolian army met for the decisive contest before Angora (1402). The two armies probably amounted to a million of warriors, and although the Mongolians were far superior in number, the Turks made up for this by their experience in war. But Bajazet selected, in contradiction to the advice of his Grand Vizir, a plain for the battle-field, and as the Asiatics serving in his army deserted to Tamerlane during the engagement, the Turks were defeated in spite of their usual bravery, and Bajazet taken prisoner, after the whole of his body-guard had fallen. Three of his five sons saved their lives, Soliman, Muhammad, and Musa, late the viceroy in Europe. Isa was taken prisoner with his father, and his remaining son, Mustapha, fell in battle. Tamerlane treated the captured monarch with respect, and on his attempt to escape had him carried from each encampment in a gilded litter, like those that Turkish ladies made use of. Thence arose the rumour of the iron cage in which he was said to be kept.

Bajazet died in imprisonment in 1403, and Tamerlane retired to Samarcand, when he also died in 1405.

With Bajazet's captivity and death, the Turkish empire seemed utterly annihilated, more especially as his sons carried on a war against each other, from which only an entire dissolution of the state could be expected. Soliman, the eldest son, took possession of his father's treasures, occupied the Turco-European provinces, and selected Adrianople as his abode. Muhammad and Musa remained in Asia Minor, when the former resided in Amasia, the latter in Brusa.

But the contest between the brothers led to the death of two, and the third re-united his father's empire, as Muhammad the First (1413-1421), and subjected the Turkish Emirs in Asia Minor. He died in 1421, but his Viziers considered it advisable to conceal his death for forty days, till Murad II (1421-1451), his son, arrived from Asia and ascended the throne. Murad had many contests with a false Mustapha, who asserted that he was the son of Bajazet, and in 1440 he marched into Hungary, on account of the assistance that country had afforded to the pretender. But, on this occasion, the Turks found an opponent equal to them, the brave John Hunyadi, the future Voivode of Transylvania. He gained the first victory over the Turks on the 18th March, 1442, at Herrmanstadt, and 20,000 of the enemy were left on the battle field; a second Turkish army of 80,000 men he defeated with only 15,000, at

Vassage, although the Turkish leader had boasted that the Hungarians would fly as soon as they saw his turban.

Cardinal Julian, who had been sent by Pope Eugene to the Hungarian court, made every exertion to induce King Vladislaus, who bore the double crown of Hungary and Poland, to commence a more effective war against the universal enemy of Christians. He promised the support of a crusade, which the Pope had ordered to be preached through the whole of the west. His words had effect, and in the summer of 1443, a large army, composed of Hungarians, Poles, Servians, Wallachians, and German crusaders crossed the Danube. It was a glorious campaign: and had it been followed up by others of a similar nature, the power of the Turks might have been broken. Hunyadi gained the victory in two battles, and crossed the Balkan in December, 1443. But as the year was so far advanced, and want of provisions, and sickness harassed the troops, they retreated, though not without brilliant hopes for the next year.

The hopes entertained were augmented by the promises of assistance that arrived. The Pope, the Duke of Burgundy, Genoa, and Venice, promised most faithfully that their fleets should appear in the Ægean and the Dardanelles, and so cut off the Turks from communication between Europe and Asia. In the meanwhile, Murad, who anxiously desired peace, made some advantageous proposals, which Vladislaus,

by Hunyadi's advice, did not reject. In July 1444, an armistice for ten years was signed at Szegedin, on condition that Murad should restore Servia and the Herzegovina to George Brankovitch, recognize the supremacy of Hungary over Wallachia, and redeem his brother-in-law for a ransom of 70,000 ducats.

After this treaty had been settled, Murad abdicated the throne in favour of his son Muhammad, then fourteen years of age, or rather of the Vizier, and retired to Magnesia, to enjoy the remainder of his life in the company of his most intimate friends.

The armistice had been scarce completed when letters reached the Hungarian Court, from the chief admiral of the united Christian fleet in the Hellespont, as well as from the Greek emperor, stating that Caramania was again in a state of insurrection, and the moment had arrived to destroy the power of the Turks in Europe. The Christian fleets would surely prevent Sultan Murad from returning to Europe. Through their representation, Vladislaus was induced to break the treaty and attack the Turks when unprepared. In vain did Hunyadi try to dissuade him from this perjury. The Papal legate gave the King absolution, and thus was the war commenced, which was as unscrupulous as it was fatal in its consequences.

But the forces which were collected were very slight, and only amounted with the promised reinforcements to 24,000 men. After the Danube had been

passed, the route along the Black Sea was selected, and thus they arrived at Varna. Here nothing was heard of the auxiliary fleets, but, on the other hand, the terrible news arrived, that Murad was approaching with an immense force. Through the treachery of the Genoese, he had crossed the Bosphorus with 40,000 warriors, and, for the price of a ducat per head, they had delivered up their Christian brethren to the mercy of the Turks.

In the Christian camp, the question arose as to what were the most advisable measures : several leaders proposed a hurried retreat up the Danube. The Cardinal considered the defence of the fortified camp, till assistance arrived, most advisable. But King Vladislaus and Hunyadi were for an engagement. This took place on the 18th of November, 1444, against an enemy four times as strong, through whose ranks the announcement of the broken treaty was carried on the point of a lance. The lines of the Turks were broken by the impetuosity of the Christians, and Murad had already turned his steed in flight, and only retained his ground when the Begler-beg of Asia seized his bridle, but at this moment Vladislaus yielded to the impetuosity of his Poles and led them to battle. The Janissaries whom he first attacked gave way: but when the Poles had advanced to the entrenchments, they were surrounded by the superior force of the enemy and cut down. The king rushed forward and a Janissary cut off his head and fixed it

on the point of a lance. The defeat of the Christians was now decisive: the majority sought their safety in flight, and among them Hunyadi. The Cardinal, the originator of all this calamity, reached the Danube, but was murdered by a Wallachian, who was rowing him across the river and perceived some golden ornaments about him.

Murad returned to Magnesia, but quitted it again when an insurrection among the Janissaries rendered his energetic interference necessary. The Hungarian war also, continued by the indefatigable Hunyadi, demanded his entire attention. His superior forces, however, gained the victory at Kossova, after an engagement that lasted three days, over the Hungarian general and his brave followers.

Muhammad II (1451—1481), who had already twice mounted the throne, and twice abdicated it in favour of his father, at length gained the permanent dominion through the latter's death in 1451. He possessed strength of mind and energy, but the commencement of his reign was stained by a fratricide. Of the whole Byzantine empire, the head alone still survived the members. Murad II had contented himself with the vassaldom of the Emperor, but Muhammad had formed the firm determination of having Constantinople as the chief seat of his empire, and eventually effected his design, on the 29th May, 1453, in spite of the heroic defence of the city, by the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Palæologus, who perished in the breach.

FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE TREATY OF CARLOWITZ, 1699.

EUROPE received the news of the fall of the capital with great terror and sorrow, for it could not be anticipated that Muhammad's ambition would be satisfied with this, and it was soon seen how just this apprehension was. Pope Nicholas IV did his utmost by indulgences to inflame the nations against the ferocious enemies of the Christians, and his successor Calixtus II displayed still greater zeal. His legates traversed every country, but found little obedience; in France, indeed, the reading of the papal rescript was forbidden. Among the orators sent out by the Pope, was a man influenced by lofty enthusiasm, a Franciscan monk, by name John de Capistrano. To lead the minds of his hearers to take part in the war against the unbelievers, he traversed the whole of Europe. He appeared in Germany in 1450: where the report of his sanctity had preceded him. A few years after the fall of Constantinople, when Muhammad arrived before

Belgrade, to extend his conquests towards the west, with 150,000 men, Capistrano came to the aid of the brave Hunyadi with an army composed of townsmen, peasants, students, and begging monks, and a portion of these were only armed with sticks and slings. They threw themselves into Belgrade. On the 21st of July, the Janissaries forced their way through the breaches and occupied the suburbs. Hunyadi considered everything lost, but Capistrano's confidence was unshaken. He ordered the garrison to hurl bundles of burning wood on the enemy, then made a sally at the head of his heroes and crusaders, and caused such a terror, that the Turks commenced a disorderly wild flight, whose career Muhammad was forced to follow in spite of his threats and fury. All the cannon, in number 300, fell into the hands of the victors, and 21,000 Turks found their graves here. Unfortunately, Capistrano and Hunyadi died during the same year, both on a sick bed.

The successful defence of Belgrade had saved Hungary temporarily, at least, from desolation, and Muhammad's thirst for conquest was directed to another point. After conquering a portion of Greece in 1485, he proceeded to Asia Minor, to subjugate the kingdom of Trebizonde. Here David Comnenus was reigning, who immediately capitulated and delivered up the town, on the appearance of Muhammad, after the sultan had promised him free departure and offered him a residence in Europe. But the blood-

thirsty tyrant did not keep his word, for he had the Emperor with his whole family murdered.

Muhammad's passion for war, and the continual collisions with nations, partly conquered, partly still resisting, forced him into continual contests, and his empire increased enormously. In Asia Minor he abolished the kingdom of Caramania, which had long been the rival of the Turkish empire, and had been for more than a century and a half either in open hostility or unsettled peace. Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia were conquered, and the expeditions of the Turks into Carnia, Carinthia, and Styria, which endured till the middle of the 16th century, then commenced. The sultan commenced a war with the Venetians, partly on account of a runaway slave, whom the Venetians would not give up, partly and principally for the sake of the Venetian possessions in the Peloponnese, whence this unhappy land was desolated even more than on the prior occasion.

This war lasted sixteen years, until the Venetians obtained peace by means of many sacrifices in 1479. It is said that an offensive and defensive alliance was formed between the sultan and the doge. It is at least certain that the Venetians summoned the Turks to their assistance in a war against Naples immediately afterwards. They gladly accepted such an invitation, and took Otranto in 1780. Thus they planted a foot in Italy: the West, injured in a most susceptible spot, seemed to invite the Mussulmans to new conquests.

Muhammad II, however, died on the 3rd of May, 1481, and Otranto was soon recovered from the Turks.

Muhammad's reign possesses such immense historical importance, that we must necessarily devote some little space to him. The name of the "Conqueror" with which the Turkish history distinguishes him from all other sultans, is due to him, not only as the conqueror of Constantinople, but also as the augmenter of his empire in every direction. He subjected two empires, fourteen kingdoms, and two hundred cities. Many stories have been told of his barbarity, but history does not require any myths, in order to form an impartial verdict, about his inhumanity and lasciviousness, his magnanimity and patriotism, about his crimes and his great qualities.

His thirst for blood is shown by the fratricide with which he commenced his reign; by the deaths of the Greek imperial family of Trebizonde; of the King of Bosnia, and of the Princes of Lesbos and Athens. Muhammad, however, was not only a conqueror, but also the populator of towns: not only a destroyer of churches and monasteries, but also the founder of mosques and schools, of hospitals and charities; not only the destroyer of Greek cultivation and art, but the promoter of Turkish science and learning: for he had received a scientific as well as martial education.

After the conquest of Constantinople, eight of the principal churches were converted into mosques, and

eventually Muhammad built four more. Of all these twelve mosques the most conspicuous is the one called after the name of the conqueror, with the exception of St Sophia.

Let us now pass to the state measures carried out by Muhammad, which were the foundation of the future Turkish constitution. The easterns conceive the state to be a perfect house or tent, and give names to the various branches of the administration in accordance with this idea. On the foundation of the religious code, of tradition, and of the decrees of absolute monarchy, is built the edifice of the state, whose first and most prominent feature is the gateway or Porte. As the gateway is the figurative type of the house, so the Porte is the universally accepted title for the government, as in the earliest ages the business of the nation was disposed of at the gate of the palace. At the gate of the palace too, the body-guard were collected, and the road to the palace of the Greek emperor led through seven detachments of the guard. The gate therefore was not merely the type of the government generally—as the Sublime Porte—but also specifically, of the forces, the various corps of which were denominated gates, and the whole army consisted of fourteen such gates.

The third figurative meaning of the gate refers not only to the Empire and the Government in general, but also especially to the Court and the Harem, which is termed the House or Gate or Felicity (Dari), while

the Gate of the Government was called the Sublime Porte of the Empire or of happiness. The Empire is prosperous and the Court felicitous: before the Gate of the Empire the protectors of the Porte are collected, and the Vizier presides over the affairs of the Sublime Porte. Through the Gate of Felicity the road leads to the sanctuary of the Court, to the residence of the members of the Harem. In the interior of the house is the Exchequer, and in the apartment the Sopha—the Divan, on which the dignitaries of the Law take their places; and finally the innermost rooms belong to the Court itself.

The Kanun or fundamental law of the conqueror, by which he settled the administration of the state, and the gradations of the Imperial dignitaries, subjects the Court and State Officers to a quadruple arrangement, which is derived from the four pillars supporting the tent, and which has an historical foundation in the four nearest Apostles and Chalifes of the Prophet, and in the four comrades in arms of Osman, the founder of the dynasty.

The fundamental principles of the legislative code laid down by Muhammad are as follows : In three gates or divisions, it discusses, firstly, the gradations of rank among the dignitaries and supporters of the empire: secondly, the customs and ceremonies of the Court: thirdly, the fines to be imposed for criminal offences and the revenues of the officers. The first gate leads into the interior of the hierarchy of the

state. The most remarkable kanuns of the second gate are those relating to the festival of Beiram, the Imperial table, the royal seal, and the secure establishment of the succession to the throne. The two festivals of the Beiram are the most sacred in the Muhammadan calendar. The most terrible of all the kanuns is that referring to the succession, which makes fratricide an imperial law. In Osman's constitution we find "a majority of the legislators have declared it is permissible, that whoever of my illustrious children and grandchildren mounts the throne, should order his brothers to be assassinated, in order to preserve the peace of the world; let them, therefore, act in accordance with this." Osman, the founder of the Empire, had given the first example by the murder of his uncle; Bajazet committed the first fratricide by having his brother executed when he mounted the throne. His descendant, Muhammad II, followed in his footsteps, but he would not merely commit such a murder, but wished his example to serve as a law in future.

The number four is sacred among the easterns: and it furnishes the principle on which the first offices of the state were regulated. Four pillars support the tent: four angels, according to the Koran, are the supporters of the throne; four winds govern the regions of air; the four cardinal virtues are the same in the moral teaching of the Greeks and Asiatics. For this reason Muhammad planted four pillars of the empire firmly in the Viziers, the Kadiaskers, the

Defterdars, and the Nijandjis, who are at the same time the four pillars of the Divan.

The first pillar of the empire and support of the throne are the Viziers, *i. e.* the Porters, because the whole weight of the state rests on their shoulders. The first of the four, the Grand Vizier, is the absolute Plenipotentiary, the visible representative of the Sultan, his deputy with full powers, the centre and prop of the Government. From the time of Muhammad II, the management of the affairs of the divan remained exclusively in the hands of the Grand Vizier. In another chapter we propose to enter into details about the Turkish system of government, which would be out of place before we had finished our aperçu of the History of the Empire.

Muhammad's son and successor, Bajazet II (1481-1512), was compelled, immediately after ascending the throne, to march against his younger brother, Zizim, viceroy of Caramania, as he refused obedience. Zizim, defeated at Nicœa, fled in the first instance to Egypt, and then to the Knights of St John, who effectually protected him. Bajazet bound himself to pay them an annual sum of 45,000 ducats, on condition that they would not allow him to quit their territory.

They kept their promise, although the Kings of

France, Arragon, and Hungary in turn demanded Zizim's extradition, in order to embarrass the Sultan by taking his part. At last, however, they were compelled to give him up to Pope Alexander VI. The latter, who was seated on the Papal throne from 1492-1503, and disgraced it by conduct only paralleled by that of a Nero or a Heliogabalus, entered into negociations with Bajazet II, in consequence of which he removed Zizim by means of poison in 1495.

In 1492, Bajazet attempted to take Belgrade by surprise, but was repulsed. He then attacked Albania, and simultaneously ravaged Transylvania, Croatia, Styria, and Carinthia. At Villach his troops were attacked by a Christian army, when 10,000 of them were killed, 7000, taken prisoners, and 15,000 captured Christians liberated. In 1498, the Turks twice attacked Poland, and in the following year, through the instigation of the Pope, waged war with the Venetians, and on this occasion made a fresh invasion into Carinthia. The last years of Bajazet's reign were disturbed by the rebellions and wars of his sons, who wished to assure themselves of the throne. In 1509, the eldest, Korkud, rebelled, but was forced to fly to Egypt. Bajazet then appointed his second son, Achmed, his successor: but the third son, Selim, rose in opposition, and though defeated at Adrianople, he established himself in Asia; and the Janissaries there summoned Selim to Constantinople, and declared him to be the heir to the monarchy (1512). His father,

who was forced to abdicate, and was exiled to Demotika, died on the road to his place of banishment.

Selim I (1512-1519) made himself worthy of his surname "The Inflexible" by immediately murdering the sons of his deceased brothers. A war, in consequence, broke out, with his still living brothers, Korkud and Achmet, which was terminated by their defeat and execution. Murad, a son of Achmed's, fled to Persia, whose muhammadan population rejected the Sunna (tradition or oral history), and hence were termed Shiites or heretics by the Turks. Selim took vengeance for the protection Murad had received from the Persian Schah, by having 40,000 innocent Shiites in his empire executed; and when Ismael exercised the right of requital in Persia, he attacked him, utterly defeated him on the 14th August, 1514, and marched triumphantly into Tebriz. An insurrection of the Janissaries, however, compelled his return; but in the year 1516 he entirely subjugated Syria and Palestine, defeated in the following year the Sultan of Egypt, and marched into Cairo, which he suffered his troops to plunder. With the incorporation of Egypt Selim assumed the title of Chalif, which the Egyptian Sultans had till then borne. Selim I died on the 21st September, 1519.

He was followed by his only son, Soliman II (1519-1566), surnamed "the Magnificent," who after suppressing an insurrection in Egypt, commenced war with Servia and Hungary, took Belgrade in 1521,

and then attacked Rhodes in 1523, which island he did not conquer till after a very obstinate defence. Soliman then returned to Hungary, took Peterwardein by storm, in 1526, utterly defeated Louis II of Hungary at Mohacz, and gained possession of Pesth and other fortified cities. He then suppressed an insurrection in Asia Minor, and again returned to Hungary, when he made the Transylvanian Prince, John Zapolya, tributary king of that country. Then he commenced war against Ferdinand I, and appeared before Vienna on 27th September, 1529.

Soliman's army amounted to more than 120,000 warriors, and had 400 heavy guns, while Vienna was only garrisoned by 16,000 men, and in addition was defended by weak fortifications. Never had the danger which menaced Western Europe been so imminent as now; for if the Austrian capital had fallen into the hands of the Turks, they would have poured in a continuous stream over the plains of Germany, and have penetrated into France, in spite of their alliance with his most Christian Majesty, Francis I. Extensive breaches had been made in the walls of Vienna, and the Turkish troops made several assaults, but were repulsed by the heroism of the garrison, who worthily defended the cause intrusted to them. Want of provisions and murmurs among the troops, induced Soliman to raise the siege on the 15th of October, 1532, after desolating the neighbourhood

and carrying off 10,000 prisoners. From this date his usual fortune seemed to have deserted Soliman, for he was unsuccessful in a war against Persia, and an attack on Malta, in 1565, ended with a great loss on his part. In order to recover his prestige, Soliman placed himself at the head of the army still engaged in Hungary. He found, however, such determined resistance from Count Zriny that he died through vexation on the 30th August, 1566.

He was followed by his son, Selim II (1566-1574), who gave way so entirely to sensual pleasures, that he was incapable for any active measures. Still the remembrance of his father's renown, and the clever management of his Grand Vizier, procured him respect. Although he loved peace, and concluded an armistice for eight years with Maximilian II, and with the Schah of Persia, a war was carried on with the Venetians, in which the latter lost Cyprus. The Venetians formed an alliance with the King of Spain, the Pope, the Duke of Savoy, and the Knights of Malta, and their united fleet, under the command of Don Juan d'Austria, gained a decisive victory over the Turks at Lepanto, 7th October, 1571. The Turks lost 224 ships and 30,000 men; nearly 350 cannon were taken by the conquerors, and 15,000 Christian captives liberated. But instead of taking advantage of this victory and sailing to Constantinople, the Christian leaders separated, and sailed back, as they could not agree about their further

proceedings. Selim II died on the 12th December, 1574, from the effects of intoxication.

Murad III (1574-1595), his son and successor, was a weakling, but still did not neglect to have his five brothers immediately strangled. On the death of the Grand Vizier, the greatest disorder prevailed in the administration. There were incessant contests with Austria although no war was declared, and the Turks landed in Italy, and plundered the country, without being at war with any Christian government. In the meanwhile several revolutions had broken out in Persia, which had weakened the empire, and gave the Turks appetite for new conquests. War commenced in 1578 against Persia, and in 1593 against Austria.

Turkey from the time of Murad III gradually sank. Sultans, educated in the seraglio, mounted the throne to become the instruments of their courtiers, and tried to secure themselves by the murder of their relatives; internally the people sank deeper and deeper into the slough of ignorance and despotism; the Pashas ruled in the provinces even more despotically than the Sultans, and the Janissaries were perfectly at liberty to do as they pleased. They deposed and strangled Sultans, and raised others to the throne, in the most arbitrary fashion. All this, however, was confined to the internal policy of the country, for the requisite union always prevailed among the Turks against their foreign foes, and they

ever took advantage of the dissensions in Germany to plunder and lead Christians into captivity. In short, until the later wars with Russia, they were the entire masters of all their neighbours, and at times only declared war for the sake of giving the restless Janissaries occupation.

Muhammad III (1595-1603), Murad's son, commenced his reign by murdering his nineteen brothers; then appeased an insurrection among the Janissaries by means of money, and sent them to fight in Hungary. Then the war was carried on with alternating success, although the Turks still held Buda, Pesth, and other Hungarian cities. The example of the Janissaries was now imitated by the Spahis, who rebelled in 1600 at Constantinople, and compelled the Sultana Validè, who held the reins of government, to deliver up her favourites to them. In 1603 they renewed the insurrection, and in the same year Muhammad III died.

Achmed I (1603-1617), his son, was only fourteen years of age when he mounted the throne. Still the wars were continued during his reign against Persia, Austria, and lastly with Poland. When he died in 1617, his seven sons were still minors, he was therefore followed by his brother, Mustapha I, who, however, was deposed by desire of the Mufti, within three months, and was succeeded by Achmed's eldest son, Osman II. He was not only of a most martial temper, but soon actively assumed the reins of

government; however, through his covetousness he lost the affection of the troops (who could only be kept in good humour by money presents, or by forays in the enemy's country); through his alterations in the government the affection of the Ulema, and, by the murder of his next brother, Muhammad, universal respect. He obstinately insisted on a war with Poland, and marched at the head of his army in 1621. He was so fortunate as to defeat the Polish army at Choczim, but could gain no further advantage from it as the season was advanced, and his troops insisted on returning home. He was consequently forced to grant the Poles a rather advantageous truce. This caused great umbrage to the Janissaries at Constantinople; they broke out in rebellion, drove Osman from the throne, and after murdering him, restored Mustapha in 1622. Then, however, they repented their haste, broke out into fresh insurrections in conjunction with the Ulema, strangled several grandees, expelled others, deposed Mustapha for the second time in 1623, and raised Osman's son, Murad IV, then twelve years of age, to the throne.

A boy in years, but a man in stature and ability, Murad (1623-1640) was forced at first to leave the government in the hands of the Sultana Validè and the Grand Vizier: but as soon as he had reached man's estate, he assumed the reins of government with energy, but eventually became cruel and

sanguinary, made a furious attack upon smoking and wine-drinking, forbade the former by punishing transgressors with death, shot drunkards with his own hand, but eventually gave up himself to intoxication, and behaved like a madman. The Janissaries and Spahis soon revolted, not exactly in consequence of the Sultan's conduct, but because the exhaustion of the treasury would not allow the distribution of the customary presents; nothing else was left but to lead them to war, and thus hostilities recommenced in various quarters. As things did not progress entirely to the Sultan's satisfaction in the campaigns against the Persians, several Grand Viziers were executed in succession; on another occasion, several leaders of the Spahis, and even the Mufti himself, which no previous Sultan had dared to do. In order, however, that the Mufti might not undergo the usual punishment of strangulation or decapitation, he was pounded to death in a huge mortar. Murad IV became daily more barbarous, and did not spare his favourites, or relations. In 1635, he marched in person against the Persians, and took Erivan. He died on the 9th of February, 1640, in consequence of his intoxication. Above 100,000 persons are said to have been executed during his reign.

His brother and successor, Ibrahim I (1640-1648), was effeminate, and an instrument of his favourites, wives, and grandees, who were elevated in rapid succession and executed. At last Ibrahim's favourites

were murdered, and the Sultan strangled, in an insurrection of the Janissaries, supported by the Ulema.

His son, Muhammad IV (1648-1687), now mounted the throne, though only seven years of age. The Grand Vizier governed in his name, under the direction of the elder and younger Sultana Validè (the grandmother and mother of the Sultan), who were continually disputing. At length a debasement of the currency excited great dissatisfaction, and a commotion among the merchants, and the consequence was, that the innocent Grand Vizier was executed. The party of the younger Validè now gained the upper hand, and the elder one was strangled. By this, however, the state of affairs was in no way ameliorated, the insurrections in Constantinople, Asia Minor, and the Provinces were renewed, and the Turkish Empire would probably have then been dismembered, had not the Porte found two excellent Grand Viziers in succession, in Muhammad and Achmed Kiuprili, father and son. Although the wars against the conterminous Christian kingdoms were continued, and only momentarily interrupted by negociations or precarious treaties, the Hungarian Magnate, Emmerich Tekely, gave a new opportunity for a war with Austria, who, in order to become King of Hungary, organized an insurrection in that country in 1678, and called the Turks to his assistance. In gratitude for this, Tekely bound himself to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan.

The Court of Vienna was placed in a very serious position through this, as it had no army at its disposal for the moment. In July, 1683, the Turkish army under Kara Mustapha appeared before Vienna. After a siege of two months, during which the Turks desolated the surrounding country, John Sobieski marched to the relief of the city, and, on the 12th of September, he attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that they at length gave way, and took to flight with an immense loss. As they were obliged to leave their camp and provisions behind them, the booty was immense. Two millions of dollars were found in the military chest, and the whole booty was estimated at 10,000,000. It was divided among the victors on the spot.

It might be imagined, that every exertion would now be made to expel the Turks from Hungary, but they were permitted to remain in that unhappy country for six years, and fully compensated themselves for the loss they had sustained at Vienna. Kara Mustapha had been long before executed, and his successors in the dignity had met with a similar fate. In 1687, when the Turkish army was utterly defeated by the Duke of Lorraine, the troops deposed the Grand Vizier, and obtained an order for his strangulation: they then caused an insurrection in Constantinople, which resulted in the abdication of the Sultan.

Soliman III (1687-1691) then mounted the throne.

He was brother to Muhammad IV, and had only escaped death by keeping at a distance from all worldly matters, and devoting his time to acts of devotion. Soon after the Janissaries plundered the houses of the higher ranks, murdered the Grand Vizier, and deposed his successor, because he wished to punish the chiefs of the insurrection. Fortunately, Soliman at last found in Mustapha Kiuprili a talented and energetic Vizier, so that the war in Hungary could be continued. Kiuprili, however, fell in battle against the Imperialists in 1691, and in the same year Soliman III also died.

He was followed by his brother, Achmed III (1691-1694), who was raised to the throne in the stead of Soliman's sons. In Hungary no brilliant success was achieved, in spite of the execution of several Grand Viziers. After Achmed's death, his nephew, Muhammad IV, was raised to the throne, during whose reign a truce was at length effected with the Austrians at Carlowitz, on the 26th of January, 1699. It was not in favour of the Porte, whose external weakness now began to become manifest. Simultaneously a truce was made with Poland, Russia, and Venice. In consequence of an insurrection of the Janissaries, Mustapha was compelled to abdicate in 1702, in favour of his brother, Achmed III (1702-1730). He loved peace so much, that he looked on with indifference during the Spanish war of succession, as well as the war in the North, and displayed no inclination to

employ the opportunity offered of advancing the interests of the Porte. At last Charles the XII, of Sweden, after the defeat at Pultava, succeeded in inflaming him to a war against Russia: but the Tzar, when surrounded by the Turks, easily purchased peace by the restoration of Azov (1711).

After this, war was declared against the Venetians, and the Morea taken from them in 1715: but Austria armed in defence of Venice, and the victories of Prince Eugene of Savoy at Peterwardein and Venice deprived the Turks, through the treaty of Passarovitz (1718), of Temesvar and Belgrade, and a portion of Servia and Wallachia: but they retained the Morea. In Egypt, and several other provinces of the empire, insurrections broke out, and were only suppressed with considerable difficulty. Achmed III busied himself, in the meanwhile, with collecting money and with floriculture, and was always cautiously intent on the preservation of peace. A war, however, broke out with Persia, when the Schah demanded back the provinces taken by the Turks, and would not listen to any propositions for peace. In consequence of Achmed not giving any money toward the expenses of the war, an insurrection commenced at Constantinople on the 28th of September, 1730, which resulted in the Sultan's abdication of the throne, to which his nephew was raised.

FROM THE TREATY OF CARLOWITZ TO THE REIGN OF SULTAN MAHMUD II.

MAHMUD I (1730-1754) was at first entirely in the power of the rebels, who managed the government for some time, but eventually lost the popular favour, and 500 of them were executed. The war against Persia ended in 1736 with a peace disadvantageous to Turkey; but, on the other hand, the treaty of Belgrade, made with the Austrians in September, 1739, restored those portions of Servia and Wallachia which had been given up in 1718; but the Porte suffered considerably in a war that was carried on with Russia, commencing in 1736. Mahmud I died in 1754, and was followed by his brother, Osman III (1754-1757), under whose reign France lost a great portion of the influence which it had acquired during the empire of the preceding Sultans. Mahmud's son and successor, Mustapha III (1757-1773), who noticed Russia's growing strength with fear, and

still dreamed of the Turkish dominion under Soliman, was persuaded by France to declare war against Russia in 1768. He only lived to see the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Chesmè (1770).

He was followed by his brother Abd-ul-Hamid (1773-1789), who was at this time 48 years of age, 43 of which he had passed in prison. It may naturally be supposed that he had no great experience in war, and although he did not reject the proposals of peace offered by the Russians, the Ulema violently opposed them, as the delivery of Turkish fortresses to the enemy was in contradiction to the fundamental principles of Islamism. However, after the Turkish troops had suffered several defeats, and the army was even surrounded by the Russians at Schumla, the objections of the Ulema were neglected, and the treaty of Kudjuk-Kainardji was signed with the Russians on the 17th July, 1774. By this treaty the Porte gave up to Russia the fortresses of Kinburn (on the mouths of the Dnieper), Kertsch and Yenikali (on the peninsula of the Crimea), yielded its sway over the Tartars in the Crimea, Budjak (or Bessarabia), and Kuban (now the country of the Tchernomori Cossacks): permitted the Russians to navigate all the Turkish seas, and conceded to the Tzar the protectorate over all the Turkish subjects who belonged to the Greek confession.

Although these concessions may appear unimportant, they contained the germ of future immense

advantages; the independence of the Crimea more especially guaranteed to the Russians an influence over this beautiful and well-cultivated country, which at length entailed its subjection. In 1783 the Tartar Khan gave up the Crimea and Kuban to the Russians for a yearly pension, which the Porte permitted to take place without opposition. Through this and various other steps on the part of Russia, the old Turkish pride was humiliated, and as, in addition, the envoys of Prussia, England, and Holland represented to the Porte the dangerous nature of the schemes formed by Joseph II and the Empress Catherine during their conference at Cherson in 1787, the Porte again declared war against Russia. The Turks, however, were still more unfortunate than on the previous occasion, for at the treaty of Jassy (9th January, 1792) they were forced to cede to Russia the country on the left bank of the Dniester, which now formed the frontier. However, the treaty ratified with Austria at Sistova on the 4th August, 1791, cost the Porte no sacrifices.

In the meanwhile Abd-ul-Hamid died on the 7th April, 1789, and was succeeded by his nephew, Selim III (1789-1807). Although Selim had been confined in the Seraglio by his uncle, he had been in other respects well treated. His love of information and his natural talents had induced him to carry on an active correspondence with several servants of his father and his uncle. Their information had, how-

ever, in no way satisfied him, and he had commenced a correspondence with Choiseuil, the French Envoy at Constantinople in 1786, and had also sent his intimate friend Isaac Bey to France, to enquire into the state measures and administrative organization of that country. Selim had also entered into correspondence with Louis XVI, and this lasted till 1789, when the French Revolution broke out simultaneously with Selim's ascension of the throne.

All this throws a clear light upon Selim's eventual exertions to cause reforms, which at last cost him both his throne and his life. His thirst for knowledge leads us to presume that he was not deficient in natural and sound talent. The old Turkish statesmen, to whom his position directed him to apply, could not satisfy his curiosity, from the simple fact that they knew nothing themselves; but it was a mistake, that in his pursuit of knowledge, and desire to improve the institutions of Turkey—and the habits and character of its inhabitants—Selim should have applied to France, and to Frenchmen. That country was then on the eve of her great revolution. Theories of all kinds were afloat. The ancient system of her Government was passing away—and neither Louis XVI nor his friends and Ministers possessed the talent or energy requisite to control the enthusiasm of the advocates of the new system—who, instead of repairing, thought only of destroying.

Louis was incapable of guiding the storm which

was rapidly enveloping him. Unable to improve his own institutions, he was utterly unfit to assist Selim in improving those of Turkey.

Selim would certainly have acted more wisely had he sought help from his own sensible mind; he would have easily perceived the palpable fact, that things which were suited for Christian nations were utterly inapplicable to the rude, uncivilized Turks, at any rate until they laid aside their hatred for everything new or that pertained to Christianity. Had he in the first instance tried to ameliorate the condition of the schools, to introduce impartiality in the system of administration, and to restore discipline among the troops, and have continually kept before the nation the blessings of civilization, the latter would have gradually felt the necessity of comprehensive reform, and all the peculiarities attaching to the Turks would have been eventually modified.

Unfortunately he set about the task with very different ideas, and listened to the suggestions of the sciolists who surrounded him. The first thing to which they drew his attention was the formation of a council of state, which not only restricted the power of the Grand Vizier, but that of the Sultan, very materially. The Reis Effendi, Raschid, was the soul of the council, and the boldest of these sciolists; and he had perfect liberty to carry on the work of reform. He set the printing presses again in activity which had been introduced in a

preceding reign, sent for French officers, who founded an engineer academy, built arsenals and foundries, and openly stated that he took science under his protection.

But his chief care was to form an army after the European fashion, in order by their assistance to gain the mastery over the Janissaries, in whom old customs and traditions found their most zealous guardians. He took several steps, therefore, to call into life the new military organization, called the Nizam Djedid; and as money was required for the purpose, he laid a tax on articles of consumption. This was quite sufficient to cause the popular discontent to burst into a flame. The Ulema declared themselves hostile to the Nizam Djedid, and Pashwan Oglu, Pacha of Widdin, who placed himself at the head of the Janissaries, openly rebelled against the Porte, which could not effect anything to check him, but acquiesced in all that was demanded.

The extraordinary conquests of Napoleon diverted attention from Turkey, and instead of seeking to divide the dominions of a weak neighbour, the Great Powers of the Continent were trembling for their own safety. Egypt became the battle field between England and France, and its invasion by Napoleon obliged the Turks to unite with the Allied Powers against France. When the French were expelled from Egypt, that province was restored to Turkey, and peace concluded between the two Powers.

Selim, under the influence of General Sebastiani who was then French Ambassador at Constantinople, signed what was considered by him a favourable opportunity for renewing the war with Russia, in which, however, the Turks were defeated both by land and sea. These misfortunes the Janissaries attributed to the new troops or Seymens, and their hostility to them and to the French, whom the Sultan generally favoured, was heightened by the report that the Sultan intended to send the Janissaries, stationed in Constantinople, to form the army of the Danube, and then intrust the defence of the capital and the Dardanelles to the Seymens, and so gradually introduce the Nizam Djedid universally.

At the end of May, 1807, the chiefs of the Janissaries and the Ulema had already formed their plans for the overthrow of the Sultan, when Selim accelerated the outbreak by going to the mosque on Friday, accompanied by a body of Seymens and the French ambassador, Sebastiani. The Janissaries, aroused by this, broke out in open revolt, which soon grew of such a menacing nature by the co-operation of the Mufti, that Selim was compelled to promise the abolition of the Nizam, and the heads of those of his advisers who had promoted the measure. But the insurgents were not satisfied with this: they demanded the abdication of the Sultan, whom the Mufti declared unworthy to be a successor of Muhammad,

through his partiality for foreigners, and marched to the Seraglio, to carry their designs into effect. But when the Mufti and the Ulema entered it, they found a new Sultan. Selim, under the conviction that he could not resist the storm his attempts at reform had created, had retired to the Harem, where his nephew, Mustapha, was confined, and led him to the throne: he had then attempted to destroy his own life by a cup of poisoned sherbet, but had been prevented by Mustapha, and was led into the apartments of the Royal Princes, with a promise that he should ever be treated as a friend and an uncle.

On the same afternoon, Sultan Mustapha III (who reigned from 31st May, 1807, to 28th July, 1808) rode in solemn procession for the first time to the great mosque, was invested in the traditional manner with the sabre of Muhammad, then immediately did away with the Nizam Djedid, and restored the old customs. But among the Pachas in the provinces, there were several devoted partisans of reform. The most influential of these was Mustapha Bairaktar, Pacha of Rustchuk, who set out in July 1808, at the head of 18,000 men, to restore Selim to the throne. He succeeded in taking possession of the capital, and keeping the Sultan so long in ignorance of his designs, until he sent him orders to resign the throne in favour of Selim.

As the Sultan had only one hour allowed him for consideration, he was so helpless that he followed the

advice of the Mufti and had Selim cruelly murdered. As the gates of the Seraglio were not opened at the appointed time, and Bairaktar hurried up to enforce his authority, Selim's lifeless body was thrown over the wall. Upon this the Pacha ordered the Seraglio to be stormed, seized the Sultan, destroyed all those who had advised the abolition of the plans of reform, and placed Mustapha's younger brother on the throne.

MAHMUD II.

MAHMUD II, the second son of Abd-ul-Hamid, was born on the 2nd July, 1785, and was consequently twenty-three years of age when he ascended the throne. He had been educated by the Kodgea, in the old seraglio, and Selim, when he became his fellow prisoner, undertook his education, and indoctrinated him in the theories of reform, which had so recently cost him his throne.

Mahmud appointed Mustapha Bairaktar his Grand Vizier, and, regardless of the fate of his predecessor, restored all the measures of reform which Selim had undertaken. Within three months the Janissaries were again in open rebellion, and on the night of the 14th November, 1808, attacked the Seymens, destroyed a great number of them, and, after storming the new barracks, forced their way into the Grand Vizier's palace. He fled and appealed to the people for help, but the greater portion abused him as a renegade and joined the rebels.

Bairaktar recognised his impending fate, but still ordered the execution of Mustapha, for fear he might reascend the throne. After this he retired with a body of Seymens into a stone tower, where he had before collected a quantity of gunpowder. He defended himself here for some time, but, at last, when the Janissaries rushed up in larger masses to the attack, he blew up the tower. The Janissaries then attacked the Seraglio, and, but for the fact that Mahmud was the last legitimate descendant of the race of Osman, they would have taken his life. But even this, probably, would not have saved him, had he not sent a deputation to the insurgents and given an unconditional assent to their demands.

We must not omit mentioning that Mahmud had already narrowly escaped death on the 28th July, for Mustapha IV had ordered his execution, as well as that of Selim, and he had only been saved by Bairaktar's timely appearance. As an additional guarantee for his own safety on the throne, ensanguined with the blood of his uncle and his brother, Mahmud ordered his brother's son, a child of three months old, to be strangled, and four of the Sultanas to be thrown into the Bosphorus.

The reign of Mahmud is one of the longest and most important in the whole of Turkish history. It commenced with war. The Emperor Alexander menaced him on the Danube: the Hospodar of Servia,

Czerny George, had rebelled against him. The campaign of the Turks in 1809, was, consequently, not a prosperous one. The contest lasted till 1812, when it was ended by the treaty of Bucharest, which surrendered the whole of Bessarabia, as far as the Pruth, to Russia. At the same time the Russian protectorate of the Greek Christian subjects of the Porte, which had been stipulated in the treaty of Kudjuk Kainardji, was again confirmed. The policy which had caused the Russian army to demand such concessions, led to the renewal of the war in 1828, as well as to the present contest. The rebellion of Ali Pacha of Yanina in Albania also takes an important place in the later history of Turkey, which lasted for years and only terminated in 1822.

Sultan Mahmud, in order to put a stop to the Palace revolutions, determined on carrying out the difficult task of exterminating the Janissaries. In a solemn meeting of the dignitaries of the empire, on the 22nd May, 1826, the Grand Vizier developed the reasons for these measures: on the 28th appeared the imperial decree, which regulated the reorganisation of the Janissaries. It concluded with these words:

"Revenge, nation of Muhammad, revenge! Faithful servants of this empire, which will last as long as the world endures, revenge! Officers of every rank, defenders of the Faith, come to us. We will, with united exertions, repair our breaches, and raise the

bulwarks of an invincible army before our country, in opposition to the whole world. We will frustrate the stratagems of Christian Europe!"

After the arrangements of this decree, youths should be selected from the Janissary corps, and divided into regiments, under the name of eskendjis—active soldiers—and be instructed in the strategics of the Christians. These regulations were carried out. On the night of the 15th of June, 1826, a terrible rebellion broke out among the Janissaries, and about 30,000 of them rose in arms against the Government. Mahmud, at the head of a faithful army of 50,000 men, which had been held in readiness, annihilated the whole corps of Janissaries, or at least 20,000 of them were killed. Another Imperial decree simultaneously abolished the dervishes.

A stain on the Government of Mahmud was the sanguinary suppression of the Greek insurrection in 1821. The history of the Greek war we will not here enter into. On the 20th of October, 1827, the united Christian fleet destroyed the Turkish maritime forces at Navarino. France would not consent that in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of Alexandria (6th of August, 1828), Greece should remain tributary to the Porte, but decreed its entire independence. Charles X sent 20,000 troops to Greece, who expelled the Turks from the Morea, while 100,000 Russians opened the campaign on the

Danube. We will give a more detailed account of the Russo-Turkish campaigns in 1828 and 1829.

On the 6th and 7th of May, 1828, the Russians, under the command of Field-Marshal Prince Wittgenstein, crossed the Pruth. Sultan Mahmud could not venture to defend the Principalities or line of the Danube with vigour, as he was unable to raise a second army, in case the first was destroyed in the attempt to check the Russians on the Danube. The fortresses were, therefore, left to their own defences, and every care was expended to prevent the Russians from carrying the passes of the Balkan. For this purpose the chief force of the Turks was collected in the intrenched camp at Schumla. The Russians occupied Moldavia and Wallachia with extraordinary rapidity, and soon the only places remaining in the possession of the Turks were the fortified towns of Braila and Giurgevo, and the forts Kalo and Jarnow on the left bank of the Danube.

Braila was besieged by the Russians; a breach was made on the 15th of June by mining, and the storm took place; but they were driven back with great bravery by the garrison, under the command of Soliman Pacha. He was, however, forced to capitulate, after the greater portion of his guns had become useless, and the garrison had sunk to one half, in consequence of which Braila was given up to the Russians on the 28th of June. While the centre of the army, under Field-Marshal Wittgenstein, was

engaged before Braila, the left wing, under General Rudsevitch, attempted for a long time in vain the passage of the lower Danube. He succeeded on the 11th and 12th of June, and the whole Russian army was speedily united on the right bank of the Danube at Basardjik. General Benkendorf covered the march of the army on the fortress of Silistria with four battalions. The plan of the Russians was to catch the Turkish army before Schumla, and force them to an engagement, and after the annihilation of the only army which the Porte could oppose to the Russians, the road to Constantinople would be open.

The Seraskier, Hussein Pacha, however, avoided any engagement, and suffered the Russians to appear quietly before Schumla, in which they succeeded on the 20th of July. As the Russian force was not strong enough to take the entrenched camp, they contented themselves with enclosing it, which was effected by General Rüdiger taking up his position in the village of Eski-Stamboul, after an obstinate contest, and so cutting the Turks off from the road to Adrianople. Nearly four weeks were spent in almost perfect inactivity. At length Hussein Pasha believed the moment had arrived for a more important struggle than these daily skirmishes. In the night of the 25th-26th of August three powerful Turkish divisions marched out of camp. There was an obstinate and most sanguinary engagement along the whole of the Russian line. Hussein Pacha was not

able to gain a complete victory, but the chief object of the battle was attained, for General Rüdiger was driven out of Stamboul, and the road to Adrianople re-opened.

The Russians remained in their position before Schumla, chiefly to cover the siege of Varna, which lies in the Black Sea, and to the south of which lake Devna stretches, so that the fortress is only accessible to the north and west. General Suchtelen at first conducted the siege, which progressed very slowly. The Turks made daily sallies, and frequently fought from sunrise to sunset with the greatest bravery. In one of these sallies Admiral Prince Mentschikoff, who held the chief command before Varna, was wounded, and his place was taken by Count Woronzoff, Governor-General of New Russia. On the 7th of September and following days the Guard advanced under the command of the Grand Duke Michael (18,000 men, cavalry and infantry) into the camp. The Emperor Nicholas had also arrived from Odessa, and remained on board the Paris, a ship of the line.

The Turks were now expelled, after sanguinary engagements, from the few strong points they held without the fortress, and Varna was entirely enclosed, by a corps d'armée under General Golovine being sent to the right bank of lake Devna. The Sultan had sent 12,000 fresh troops from Constantinople to the seat of war, and had this corps hurried its march

a few days, it would have been enabled to enter the fortress unimpeded. But when the troops reached, on the 15th of September, the river Kamtjik, which falls in the Black Sea to the north of the Balkan chain, Golovine had established himself on the south side of the Devna, and thus rendered it impossible to approach the fortress, except by gaining a victory.

Omar Berim, the well-known Arnaout chief in the Greek war of liberation, advanced upon Schumla with 8,000 men, in order to join the auxiliary corps coming up from Constantinople. A Russian division, which had been sent along the banks of the Kamtjik to reconnoitre, unexpectedly came up with the enemy, and was utterly defeated. On the 27th of September Omar Berim advanced to lake Devna, and on the following day attacked the Russians, who had been in the meanwhile strengthened by troops from Schumla and Varna. The Turks fought with the greatest heroism, and the Russians escaped a defeat with the greatest difficulty. They retired into their intrenched position on the right bank of lake Devna, and did not quit it again till they received reinforcements.

In the meanwhile the siege of Varna was being carried on, slowly but incessantly. Yussuf Pacha was the commander of the fortress; but the Capudan Pacha (Grand Admiral) was also within the walls, and assumed the chief command. After making two immense trenches, two chosen divisions of Russian troops, on the night of the 6th of October, forced

their way into the centre of the town, but were cut to pieces. The garrison, however, had yielded to the feeling that their position behind battered walls was no longer tenable. The Capudan Pacha tried, as he had done once before, to gain time by negociations for a capitulation. At this advanced season of the year, and through the circumstance that the Grand Vizir, Izzet Mahmud Pacha, was advancing with fresh troops, every day was assuredly an immense gain.

Bribery appears to have gained the day for the Russians. On the evening of October 10th, Yussuf Pacha, the Commandant of Varna, appeared in the tent of the Russian Commander-in-Chief, and declared that the fortress was no longer tenable, that the Capudan Pacha, however, declined any idea of surrender, and that he, Yussuf, had consequently formed the determination of placing himself under the protection of the Emperor. The next morning, the garrison poured out from the town, and entered the Russian camp. They had undoubtedly been previously gained over by Yussuf. The Capudan Pacha retreated to the Citadel, with the 300 men, who alone remained faithful to him, declaring that they would defend themselves to the last man, and would sooner blow themselves up than be taken prisoners.

The Emperor Nicholas consented to give the Capudan Pacha free egress with his little band of faithful soldiers. The Russians rapidly repaired the battered walls of Varna to the best of their ability, and after

the fortress had been secured against any *coup de main*, the whole army, which was opposed to the Turks at the foot of the Balkans, received orders to retreat across the Danube. On the right bank of this river only one corps remained, under General Roth, at Varna and Bazardjik. The main body of the Russian army passed the winter in the Danubian Principalities.

The campaign of the Russians, under General Paskievitch, the conqueror of the Persians, was more successful in Asia. The large fortress of Kars was given up to the Russians, on the 5th of July, 1828, through the cowardice of the Commandant, Emin Pacha. After a daring march across the Tjildin mountains, the Russians appeared suddenly before Fort Akhalkalaki, and took it by storm, on the 4th of August. On the 22nd, Paskievitch defeated the Turkish General, Kiosa Mahmud Pacha, in the neighbourhood of Akhalkalaki so completely, that he was obliged to retreat into the fortress with 5,000 men; the remaining 15,000, composing the Turkish army, were either in flight or cut to pieces by the Russians. Several other strong places, especially the mountain fort of Toprakalèh on the road to Erzrum, till then considered impregnable, fell into the hands of the Russians, until at last the winter set in with the usual severity experienced in the Armenian Highlands, and necessitated an armistice, until the snow disappeared in the next spring.

The Russian Commander, Paskievitch, spent the winter in Tiflis. In the campaign of 1829, he utterly defeated the Turks under Haki Pacha, and the Seraskier, Hadji Saleh Pacha, in the vallies of Milli Dyss, and Intja-su, and then set out for Erzrum, after granting his troops a few days rest. This great city, in which the Seraskier was personally commanding, yielded in consequence of the machinations of the former Janissary, Aga Manisch, to the Russians on the 7th of July, 1829, without a blow. The Seraskier was taken prisoner, on the 9th of October. Paskievitch defeated 10,000 Turks under Osman Pacha at Baiburt, upon which the Seraskier, Chosyndar Oglu Pacha, who was marching up, retired with his army. The news of the treaty concluded at Adrianople then put an end to the hostilities in Asia.

In European Turkey, during 1829, General Diebitsch had assumed the command of the army, *vice* Field Marshal Wittgenstein. He determined on forcing the passage of the Balkan, after the fortress of Silistria had fallen. On the morning of the 17th of May, the Russians appeared before Silistria, but the actual investment was deferred for some time, as the battering train had not come up, and the height of the water in the Danube rendered the building of a pontoon bridge, by which the guns might be carried across, a work of extreme difficulty. In the meanwhile, the new Grand Vizir, Reschid Pacha (who must not be confounded with the present Minister of foreign affairs),

had, in the middle of May, marched to attack General Roth's corps, which maintained an extended chain of outposts, in a semicircle round Varna.

The General's camp was at Eski Arnautlar, near the entrenched village of Paravadi, and was defended by breastworks against any sudden attack. On the 15th the Grand Vizir attacked the Russians, who could only hold their ground with great difficulty. At this moment General Wachten advanced from his post at Devno with fresh troops, and the Turks were compelled to retire. The General followed the enemy with two regiments so impetuously, that one of them, the Ochotsk, was surrounded by the Turks in a ravine and utterly destroyed.

General Roth no longer dared to remain in his entrenchments at Eski Arnautlar, but retired on Kosludji. The Grand Vizir attacked Paravadi, which is only twenty-five miles from Varna, and which could serve as a support to the Russians in an attack on that town. But the Turks were so ignorant of the science of besieging, that week after week passed, without their making the slightest progress. General Diebitsch, being informed of this, recalled the third infantry corps under General Krasovski from before Silistria, and set out himself with the second, which was composed of 21,000 men, and 94 guns, in order to break through the Grand Vizir's line of communication with Schumla, and force him to an engagement.

On the 11th of June a battle took place at Kulevsja, which was decided in favour of the Russians after a lengthened contest. But they had suffered so much through the obstinate battle which lasted eight hours, and were so exhausted, that they could not pursue the enemy on their retreat. As the Grand Vizir was cut off from Schumla, he was forced to take the only road left open—the one to Kamtjik—and he tried to effect his retreat, by keeping his right wing stationary and occupying the verge of the adjoining forest with large detachments.

This caused the Russians to believe, that the Grand Vizir was determined to continue the engagement. Diebitsch consequently ordered General Toll to advance to the attack with twelve battalions, twelve squadrons and two twelve-pounder batteries. It was now discovered that the Turks had commenced their retreat through the forest. The first fire of the Russian cannon exploded some powder casks among the Turks—who, in addition, were not in the very best order. Hence a panic commenced among the Turks, and their retreat was converted into an irregular flight. The darkness of night checked the pursuit.

On the day after the battle, Diebitsch ordered General Roth to advance upon Schumla. But the garrison was too strong, for an assault to be successful. The Grand Vizir had arrived in Schumla, two days after the battle. Diebitsch tried to enter into negociations with him about the terms of a peace, and sent Privy

Councillor Fonton to him for that purpose. The Grand Vizir's reply was, that he was a plain soldier and understood nothing of state affairs: Diebitsch could send the envoy to Constantinople, or appoint a day on which the plenipotentiaries might meet.

Diebitsch did not consider himself authorized to consent to this, and determined to await the fate of Silistria previously to undertaking anything else. The surrender of the town took place on the 30th June by capitulation, and rendered the whole corps d'armée of General Krasovski available. It was ordered to march to Schumla, while Diebitsch forced the passage over the principal chain of the Balkan with the other corps d'armée, and spread out his line upon the southern declivity of the mountains.

The Grand Vizir had, in the meanwhile, remained stationary at Schumla. He suddenly perceived the true state of affairs, when Krasovski went back to Yenibazar. He sent Ibraham Pacha to Œdos, which place he reached by cross roads before the Russians came up, but was expelled from it by General Rüdiger and his troops put to flight. Although Scheremetiev was able to effect nothing against Halil Pacha, who was stationed with 10,000 men at Yambol on the road to Adrianople, the Pacha fancied that the whole Russian army was behind him and retired to Adrianople.

The Grand Vizir, perceiving that his further stay in Schumla would be useless, started at the commence-

ment of August with the 12,000 men still under his command by rough mountainous roads for Selimno, whence he could menace the Russian near and right flank, in case they advanced on Constantinople. Diebitsch, however, marched with 20,000 men upon Selimno, took the town and compelled the Turks to save themselves by flight into the mountains, where his cavalry could not follow them, though at the expense of their artillery.

Diebitsch then set out for Adrianople, and appeared on the 19th of August, at the head of 20,000 men, before this second capital of the Turkish Empire. As Halil Pasha, who was at Adrianople with 40,000 men, had not yet completed his line of defences, he requested a capitulation, and demanded a free passage for himself and his troops. Diebitsch assented on condition that they should lay down their arms, and either return to their homes, or retire to some place in the interior, whence they could not proceed to Constantinople. Fourteen hours were granted for the acceptance of these terms. On the 20th of August, at nine in the morning, as the period had expired, the Russians made preparations for an attack. A fresh deputation, however, arrived in the Russian camp, and consented to surrender without further conditions than the safety of their persons and property.

Had the Sultan been enabled to restore the courage of the Osmanli, General Diebitsch would have suffered

severely for his daring in advancing as far as Adrianople at the head of only 20,000 men. Mahmud, however, saw no way of saving himself except by a peace, which was drawn up and signed at Adrianople on the 14th of September, 1829, by the intervention of the Prussian General Müffling. In Asia, the Porte gave up to Russia the fortresses she had taken on the Eastern shores of the Black Sea, a portion of the Pachalik of Akhaltsikeh, with the fortified town of the same name, and the fortress of Akhalkalaki. In Europe, the Pruth and the Danube were to form the frontier as before, with the exception that the islands at the mouth of the Danube were given up to Russia. The latter bound herself in turn, that, on the Turkish side of the Danube, below its division into the Sulina and Giorgievski channels, the country for six miles from the banks of the river should remain uninhabited.

As regarded Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, the treaty of Akerman was renewed, and the Porte consented to bring the concessions made to the Servians into operation within the space of a month. In reference to the two Danubian principalities, a special treaty was drawn up. The most important points in it were the election of Hospodars for life, instead of seven years, as had previously been the case; the independent regulation and direction of the government by the Hospodars, with the approval of their Divans; the formation of their own armed force for the preservation of order; and finally, it was stipulated that

no Muhammadan should in future be allowed to dwell in the Danubian principalities, and that the fortresses on the left bank of the Danube should be razed.

The treaty of Adrianople also assured all Russian subjects entire free trade through the whole extent of the Turkish empire, and that during their residence in Turkey they should not be under Turkish authority, but entirely under that of their own envoys and consuls. The indemnity to be paid to Russia was, in a secret article, arranged at ten millions of ducats, but in 1830 was reduced to seven millions through the notorious bankruptcy of the Porte. The Porte also gave its assent to the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, and to all the later regulations, in which Russia, England, and France had agreed, about the position of Greece.

From the year 1822 Mahmud was engaged in a contest with Ibrahim Pacha, son of Mehemet Ali, of Egypt, who was striving for entire independence, until the war was concluded in 1833 by a treaty.

Sultan Mahmud now gave his whole attention to the progress of his reforms. In the year 1834 a new war broke out with Mehemet Ali, but Mahmud, who died on the 1st July, 1839, did not survive the close of the contest.

We must concede, that, spite of Mahmud's intelligence, and his energetic attempts to do good by reform, his attempts were decided failures. Those he tried were nearly all incomplete or inopportune;

we may say that he rather attacked external faults, and neglected those fundamental institutions which form the basis of morality and civilisation. To this radical fault in the reforms attempted by Sultan Mahmud, we must add another in their execution—the precipitation, namely, with which they were imposed on a nation which loved routine and ancient customs. It was not thus that Mahmud could succeed in regenerating his people;—civilisation is the daughter of time, but it must be inculcated in the national manners, instead of braving them. This task is difficult: it requires in the sovereign one of those great minds which learn by intuition, and which are in advance of their age. Had Mahmud been born in the bosom of that civilisation he loved so much, it is probable that his active mind would have derived great benefit from it; but educated, like all the Ottoman Princes, in the seraglio, he was imbued there with those autocratic notions which any species of resistance, however legal, wounds, and which, in good or bad estate, desire obedience above all else.

Still, however severe our judgment of Mahmud as a reformer may be, we must give him very great praise in other respects. His private virtues, his humanity, his noble and generous ideas, and finally, the stoical consistency and firmness of mind which he revealed in peril of every description, and through the striking reverses which signalised his long

reign, necessarily rank Mahmud among the best of the Princes of the Osman dynasty, which was the most prolific of all royal races in remarkable sovereigns.

Mahmud was succeeded by his son, ABD-UL-MEDJID (born 23rd of April, 1823), who is now seated on the throne, and is the twenty-eighth Sultan since the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. What we have to say about him, or rather about the events that have occurred during his reign, are too intimately connected with the present condition of Turkey to allow us to discuss the subject, until we have examiued into the past as revealed to us in Sir James Porter's observations.

So much, however, we fancy established by the hurried sketch of the progress of the Turkish empire above given—that Turkey has been gradually growing weaker in proportion as the Christian nations of Europe advanced on the path of progress, and that those attempts at reform, made by Selim and Mahmud were not sufficient to check her downfal. The question still remains to be solved, whether those reforms so essential for the future welfare of the Ottoman empire can be carried out by the intervention of England and France.

No nation can be considered stable which upon every emergency is obliged to have recourse to foreign aid, and it is clear that without such aid, Turkey must fall a prey to her more powerful neighbours,

unless, indeed, a very great improvement takes place in the internal administration of the country. To that object, therefore, the united efforts of the great European Powers should be directed. Without such an union, there is no hope for the Osmanli; and, as an intelligent writer has observed, who is thoroughly acquainted with Turkey, "unless a firm and unyielding barrier be raised between the Porte and those whose further progress towards the Bosphorus must be fatal to the interests of England and Austria in the Levant; fifty years cannot elapse ere travellers will flock to Constantinople to search for relics of Moslem institutions, as they now seek for vestiges of Christian and Pagan antiquities."

TURKEY IN THE LAST CENTURY.

THE MUHAMMADAN RELIGION.

WRITERS, who have never visited foreign countries, and travellers who have run through immense regions, with fleeting pen, have given us long accounts of various countries and people, evidently collected from the absurd reports and idle traditions of the ignorant vulgar, from whom alone they could have received those relations, which we see accumulated with such undiscerning credulity.

The Turks have abundantly shared this treatment: without taking notice, therefore, of what even the best informed authors may have written, I shall lay before the reader some short observations and general strictures on the religion, law, government and manners of that people, which have reached my knowledge. If what I advance have no other merit, it will at least have that of strict veracity.

It is extremely difficult to obtain information in Turkey; for inquiries cause disgust. The Muhammadan law is so strict and positive, that it confines and binds the understanding of its sectaries within

the narrow limits of what the Koran teaches: and renders them incommunicative with the rest of mankind, especially on the subject of religion or of their own customs. Strangers, who do not and cannot perfectly understand the language, must have recourse to interpreters; but these dare not enter into inquiries which they deem will cause offence: on such subjects, therefore, they never do, nor will, interpret; if they are pressed, evasion is their refuge, and both the questions they make, and the answers they return, will be entirely of their own invention.

It may be then asked, how are we to obtain information in Turkey? and my reply is, in a very imperfect manner. A long and continued residence in that country, many connections and dependencies among different ranks of people, may lead us to some truth; but certain it is that we have hitherto had but very imperfect accounts of their government or their manners.

To trace the correct outline of any national character is, I am sensible, a difficult task: of the Turks, I have perceived it is peculiarly so: I shall nevertheless make the attempt.

The Turks are in general a sagacious people: in the pursuit of their own interest or fortune, their attention is fixed on one object, and they persevere with great steadiness till they attain their purpose. They appear in the common intercourse of life to be humane and courteous, and by no means void of sen-

timents of gratitude: perhaps, some or all these virtues, when extended towards Christians, are practised with a view to their own emolument. Interest regulates their conduct throughout; when that becomes an object of competition, all attachment of friendship, all ties of consanguinity, are dissolved. They become desperate, no barrier can stop their pursuit, or abate their rancour towards their competitors. In temper they are rather hypochondriacal, grave, sedate and passive: but when agitated by passion, furious, raging and ungovernable: deep dissemblers: jealous, suspicious, and vindictive beyond conception: perpetuating revenge through successive generations. In matters of religion, they are tenacious, supercilious and morose. To ascertain the true spirit of Muhammadanism, we must, however, appeal to an impartial observation of the real influence it has exercised on the practice of its followers.

The Muhammadan belief at first sight appears extremely simple: what they first require from a proselyte to their religion is solely the repetition of a short creed: *Allah il Allah, Muhammad resoul Allah*, that is, "There is but one God and Muhammad is his Prophet." He is then confirmed by ablution and a short prayer, and thus received into the number of true believers. Circumcision generally follows.

Hence some have pretended, and many might be led to think, that it is a religion by no means clashing

violently with reason—the great basis on which it is founded being the Unity of the Deity. But this plausible initiation is only a first step, when the convert must plunge into the belief of all the absurdities of the Koran, every article of which he must receive as a revelation from God, written in Heaven, and sent down by the Almighty in mercy to his chosen people. He must firmly profess, that repeating the revelation so many times a year, observing rigorously the fast of *Ramazan*,* performing ablutions on different parts of the body, carefully extending them to certain spaces and critical proportions, many performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, drinking a portion of the water in which their Prophet's old robe had been dipped, repeating some, or the whole, of the ninety-nine names of the Deity, on a string of ninety-nine beads—are all devotional duties, so essentially necessary to a true believer, that without them the purest heart and the sincerest faith are insufficient to recommend him to divine favours: these practices he likewise holds to be the efficacious and indispensable means to atone for all his crimes and immorality.

Such absurdities might be regarded as inventions

* A *Reis Effendi*, or secretary of state, reputed of great ability and learning, sent for a Christian Dragoman on very important business: he attended and found the secretary deeply engaged in dispute with his son-in-law on the important question, to what exact height their hands or arms, feet or legs, should be washed, in order to render themselves truly acceptable to Allah.

contrived by Muhammad, merely to amuse and entrap his ignorant and simple followers. They would, indeed, be of little consequence to the moral order of the world, if the conclusions drawn from them by the Turks were not, in the highest degree, injurious to the rest of mankind; for hence they deduce, that all who are not of that belief nor embrace the doctrines of their Prophet, are objects of Divine vengeance and abhorrence: consequently, of their detestation, and on whom they are to exercise violence, fraud and rapine.

The force and efficacy of this principle operate so effectually, that Muhammadans are ever ready to display their zeal by spurning and ill-treating the persons, plundering the property, and even destroying the very existence of those who profess a different religion. If they are candid, they will frankly confess, upon inquiry, that such is their duty, so they are commanded, and that they are convinced it is most meritorious in the sight of God and the Prophet. The insatiable avarice of the Turks is the potent preservation of those Christians and Jews, who live among them. These are an inexhaustible treasure to Government, a source constantly flowing to supply the wants of multitudes, even of the powerful and ambitious; hence, therefore, religious tyranny and the inveterate prejudice of enthusiasm, are in some sort subdued and vanquished.

The first effort of Muhammadan education is to

root deep in the minds of their children, a supreme contempt of all other religions: from babes they are carefully taught to distinguish them by the opprobrious name Giaour or infidel. The habit becomes so forcible by the time they are men, that they can use no other term; they follow them with it in every street, and will often affect to push against them with the utmost contempt.

Men of dignity or those of a rank above the populace, behave with a seeming courtesy and complaisance, though often with a sort of stern superiority: but you are scarce dismissed, however civilly, before they will honor you with the high title of *Dumus* or hog, the animal they consider the most odious, detestable and impure of the whole creation. Take the most miserable Turk, who is dependent on a Christian, and would starve without him, let the latter require of him the salute of peace, the *Salem Alek* or "Peace be with you:" he would sooner die than give it; he would think himself abominated by God, and that his Prophet would look down on him with indignation as an infidel and apostate: it is reserved solely for Mussulmans, or true believers. The utmost they dare say, and many of them think it too much, is *Chair olla,* or "Good be with you."

They are enjoined by their religion to extend it by making converts: and to press all those of any other persuasion, at least three times, to embrace it. Some affect a forcible and unbecoming zeal: others, more

moderate, content themselves with a mere formal requisition: but either of them will change his tone, according as he conceives the person he addresses may be useful to him or not.

They cannot refuse the most abject or wicked mortal, who offers to become a true believer, though they know his crimes, and that he is wholly ignorant of their religious tenets.

The real worth of the Pachaliks or Governments, is in proportion to the numbers of the christian inhabitants, because the Pachas may, with regard to them, indulge all their lust of power, their zeal and avarice; they may tyrannize, harass, and oppress them, in short, they may suck their very vitals without having any reason to fear their complaints. But they cherish so far those of their own religion, for when Christians represent a Pacha's misconduct to the Porte, the Turks are sure to bear witness in his favour. But such evidence, though it serve their turn, is believed by nobody, facts are clear and incontestible. Let a man reside in Constantinople, and observe the continual fear Christians and Jews live in. The means they use to obtain protection from the Turks in power, the horrid crimes and acts of mutual injustice, by which they seem to be under the necessity of purchasing their favour, in fine, the wrongs and insults which they are constantly obliged to bear; he will then form a true idea of Muhamma-

danism, and a just estimate of the influence it has on the manners of its votaries.

There is no command in the Koran more forcible, nor held in greater respect by the Mussulmans, than the pilgrimage to Mecca. A Hadji or pilgrim is always considered regenerate; he who has not been to Mecca, laments his situation in life, which has not permitted him to perform his duty, and he is anxious for the state of his soul. This pilgrimage is, indeed, the main basis of Muhammadanism, for whoever performs it regularly, and omits no part is confident that he recommends himself effectually to the divine favour, is absolved from all sin, and rendered permanently acceptable to the deity.

Since, therefore, an exact account of the Turkish ceremonies performed at Mecca, must convey as just an idea of the Muhammadan religion, as if we beheld their practices, I shall give a short history of them, extracted from the journal of a true Mussulman, who seems to have noted down every portion as soon as he had performed it.

"After the month of their fast, or the *Ramazan*, the caravan of Damascus, composed of the pilgrims from Europe and Asia Minor, and the Arabian Sea, the principal one from Cairo, set out for Mecca. They have all their stated time of departure, and their regular stages. That from Cairo begins the journey thirty days after the Ramazan, and the con-

ductors so regulate each day's march, that they arrive in forty days, that is, just before the Corban or great sacrifice.

"Five or six days before that festival, the three caravans, consisting of about 200,000 men, and 300,000 beasts of burden unite, and encamp at some miles from Mecca. The pilgrims form themselves into small detachments, and enter the town to perform the ceremonies preparatory to the great sacrifice. They are led through a street of continual ascent, till they arrive at a gate on an eminence, called the Gate of Health, thence they see the great Mosque, which encloses the house of Abraham; they salute it with the profoundest devotion, repeating twice, "Salem alek, Irusoul Allah!" that is "Peace be with the Ambassador of God." Thence, at some distance, they mount five steps, to a large platform faced with stone, where they offer up their prayers. Then they descend on the other side of it, and advance towards two similar arches at some distance from each other, which they pass through with great silence and devotion. This ceremony must be performed seven times.

"Thence proceeding to the great Mosque which encloses the House of Abraham, they enter the Mosque, and walk seven times round the little building, contained within it, saying "This is the house of God and of his servant Abraham!" then kissing with great reverence a black stone, said to have descended white from heaven, they go to the famous well called

Zun-Zun, and plunge into it with all their clothes, continually repeating "*Toba Allah, Toba Allah!*" (forgiveness, God, forgiveness, God!) They then drink a draught of that fetid, turbid water, and depart. The duty of bathing and drinking they are obliged to pass through once; but they who will gain Paradise before the others, must perform it once a day during the stay of the Caravan.

"At 15 miles from the Town of Mecca, there is a hill or little mountain called Jibal Arafata, or "the Mount of Forgiveness:" it is about two miles in circumference and a most delicious spot: on it Adam and Eve met, after the Lord for their transgression had separated them for forty years: here they lived in excess of happiness, having built a house on the mount, called *Beith Adam*, i. e. Adam's house. The night before, or on the eve of the day of sacrifice, three caravans, each ranged in a triangular form, surround this mountain: during the whole night, the people rejoice, clamour and riot, and explode cannon, muskets, pistols and fireworks, with the constant sound of drums and trumpets. As soon as day breaks, a profound silence succeeds, they slay their sheep, offer up their sacrifice on the mountain, with all the demonstrations of the most profound devotion.

"On a sudden a Sheikh or Santon rushes from amidst them, mounted on his camel: he ascends five steps, rendered practicable for that purpose, and

preaches a studied sermon to the people. After this sermon the people salute the mountain and depart."

Independently of any inference from this account of the pilgrimage to Mecca, the inestimable value and importance of it in the conception of the people, and even in the eye of the government, would have appeared evident to any one present at Constantinople, when a singular accident befel the caravan returning from Mecca to Damascus in the year 1757.

The Pacha of Damascus is generally the conductor of the caravan, or Emir Hadji. Ezade Pacha had enjoyed that post many years; he had sovereign credit among the Arabs, and had married into one of their chief tribes; his possessions in the neighbourhood of Damascus were incredibly extensive, but they were equalled by his generosity. The Kislar-aga, who was in power the year before, and governed in the Seraglio, blinded by venality, and not foreseeing consequences, removed Ezade Hadji to the Pachalik of Aleppo, and named to that of Damascus an obscure man, on whom he had just conferred the three tails, and who became of course Emir Hadji, or conductor to the caravan. His succeeding Ezade Hadji was crime sufficient in the eyes of the principal Arabian tribes, but his refusing them a small tribute, the payment of which had been suspended by Ezade Pacha's credit, rendered them furious and implacable; they assembled to the number of 40,000, attacked the caravan, defeated the Pacha of Sidon, who waited on

the road to supply it with provisions, slaughtered many of the 100,000 pilgrims who composed it, and plundered their effects.

Never was consternation greater, among all ranks of people, than upon the hearing of this event. When the fugitive soldiers who guarded the caravan returned to Damascus, they fell a sacrifice to the citizens' fury as betrayers of the Faith: at Constantinople they looked upon their religion as subverted, and the gates of salvation locked. The depression was inconceivably great and universal; grief and despair were asserted only in sullen murmurs; no one dared to speak out; the Sultan was *oursus*, unfortunate; he was scarce safe on his throne. The argument in his favour was, that this mischief had happened in the reign of Sultan Osman, his predecessor; it excused the Prince, but did not abate the anguish or calm the perturbation of mind of his subjects, anxious for the state of their souls. The Sultan himself, not less agitated, conferred continually with the Vizir, and every precaution was taken to preserve tranquillity in the capital; but what made his concern the greater was the loss of some sacred relics of Muhammad, by the display of which on the Prophet's birth-day, he had proposed to augment the devotion and heighten the solemnity with which the festival is celebrated.

This pilgrimage, of such spiritual importance, has been the cause of all the wars between the Persians

and the Ottomans; for the latter, who are followers of Omar, think the Persians, or the sect of Ali, unworthy of salvation, and no possible objects of Divine favour. They would not, therefore, were it in their power to prevent it, permit them to enter Mecca, and to defile that sacred way, destined for the orthodox only; but the sect of Ali will not tamely suffer the road to Paradise to be thus barred against them. No earthly claim could excite such cruel vengeance, or cause such horrible effusion of blood, as this dispute has occasioned among the different sects of Muhammadans.

Hence it is that the Persians, in all their negociations of peace with the Ottoman Porte, insist on a full and entire liberty to the followers of Ali to go unmolested on the pilgrimage to Mecca. This important stipulation makes up almost the whole of the treaty of 1746.

RELIGIOUS GOVERNMENT.

As no religion, since the foundation of the world, has been entirely exempt from sects, we must not feel surprised to find a variety of them among the Muhammadans. Let them exist, provided the moral order of society is not disturbed. Enthusiasm will sometimes rage with greater zeal than wise men would wish, but generally it blazes and is at last extinguished like an *ignis fatuus*. Thus indeed the Turks seem to think. Executions, tortures, pains, and penalties, inflicted on account of Religion, are never heard of among them. If the rites of the established religion are performed and a convenient conformity observed, they inquire no further about it.

Religious disputes are unheard of among the Turks, though they have a diversity of opinions. They have not the art of printing, and I am inclined to think that the difficulty of transcribing numerous volumes, and the apprehension of being betrayed by the transcribers, may be a principal cause that the reveries of individuals have not been diffused in greater num-

bers. Whatever enthusiastic refinements, or religious eccentricity, therefore, seize a Turk, they centre in himself, and serve at most to entertain the small circle of his intimate friends.

Whatever sects the Muhammadans may have among them, their difference is in trifles, and, as we have already observed, occasions no disputes about religion: and by what can be discovered, they abound more among the Shiites or Persians, than among the Sunnites or orthodox Turks. Possibly, the clear, light Persian clime is better adapted to produce transcendent flights of imagination, than either the grosser Asiatic, or the Thracian clime: and the exalted Persian language is fitter for that purpose, than the mixed Turkish dialects, compounded, perhaps, of the very dregs of the Persian and Arabic tongues.

It is impossible, we are told, to attain in any other language, the immense sublime of Persian poetry, and, indeed, as far as I could find, almost impossible for the best translator to convert it even into common sense. It seems, therefore, no wonder, since they abound with numberless poets, that the same spirit should lead them into extravagant, enthusiastic, unbounded flights about religion: and the rather, as they have not the heathen deities to celebrate as the subject of their song.

But certain it is, that there are among the Turks many philosophical minds. The whole of the Aristo-

...systems have been translated ...: and, as they find, that the lat... the Democritic, cuts more effectu... is more conformable to their ...ence, and security, they generally ...perhaps unconsciously, they are at ...s, and professed Muhammadans. ...its train are a sure basis for athe... ...ium, from the one extreme, the ...ough imperceptibly, driven to the ... Turks easily plunge into it, and ... nations professing Christianity, ... with certain ranks of people, the ...

...ment in Turkey, notwithstanding ... have made on the subject, does ... involved in much intricacy. At ... Muhammadanism, it appears as if ... Mufti, and the order of Mullahs, ...ust be chosen. It is difficult to ...ey have in it at present: they ... considered by most as ecclesi... Mufti as their head: although they ... really regarded by the Turks ... of the law, and expounders of it: ... is their visible and most known ... whatever may have been the original ... der of Mullahs, if they were at ... and divines, and think they

must be considered as partaking little of that character at present.

Those who really act as divines are the Imauns, or parish priests, who positively officiate in, and are set aside for, the mere service of the Mosques. Their Sheikhs* are the chiefs of their Dervishes or Monks, and form religious communities, or orders, established on solemn vows: they consecrate themselves merely to religious offices, domestic devotion, and public prayer and preaching: there are four of these orders, the Bektaschi, Mevelevi, Kadri, and Seyah, who are very numerous throughout the Empire, and of whom a short description will be interesting.

The Bektaschi were founded by one Hadji Bektash, whose sepulchre is now in a village called Besiktash on the European side of the Bosphorus, near Constantinople, near Galata: the Turks pay it great respect and veneration.

These Monks, according to their institution, may marry. They are chiefly met with in country towns and villages, and are obliged to travel through the Empire: they must give the *Gazel* and *Esma* to all the Mussulmans they meet, and to them only. The *Gazel* is an affecting tone of voice, which they apply

* The Sheikhs frequently preach with virulence and invective against Government: thence, from the regard for religion, real or affected, they are mightily caressed and respected by the greatest men in office: the Viziers have generally a favourite one about them, who often behaves with uncommon freedom and assurance.

in a special sense to the Divine love. The *Esma* is the invocation of one of the names of God, of which the Turks have one thousand and one.*

The Mevelevi take their name from their founder, Mevelana. They turn round in acts of devotion with such velocity for two or three hours successively, that not even a trace of their countenance is perceptible by a spectator. Music is their delight, particularly a flute made of an Indian reed: they live within a monastery, profess poverty and humility, appear exceedingly modest and kind to strangers, receive all those of any religion who come to visit them, and accept alms. They treat strangers of any nation with coffee; and if a Mussulman's feet or sandals should be dirty, they offer immediately to wash them. They have a convent in Pera.

The Kadri are a singular order, whose institute and devotion consist in macerating their bodies: their looks are distracted and irregular: they walk the streets almost naked, rarely covering the thighs, they hold their hands joined together, as if in prayer, except when they dance, which religious exercise they will continue for many hours, and sometimes the whole day, repeating incessantly, with uncommon vehemence, Hu! Hu! Hu! Hu! one of their names

* Bodenstedt in his "*Völker des Caucasus*" states, that Allah has one hundred names according to the Mussulman belief, of which only ninety and nine are revealed: the hundredth each will learn after death.

for the Deity, until at last, as if they were in a violent rage or frenzy, they fall to the ground foaming at the mouth, and bathed with perspiration from every part of the body. This order was once abolished, but has been since revived. They have a convent between Pera and St Dimitri, and receive all those who go to see them.

The Seyah are, like the Indian Fakirs, mere vagabonds; they have monasteries, but when once they get abroad, they seldom return. They easily obtain leave of absence from their superior, on condition of sending a certain quantity of provisions or money to the convent. They are, indeed, insolent, sturdy beggars, who will not be refused. When they enter a town or village, either in the public praying or at the market place, they stand up and cry most vehemently, "Good God! send me a thousand dollars! or a thousand measures of rice!" The people then flock about them, giving alms; and when they find they have exhausted the charity of the place, they march on to another town, and repeat the same practice, until they have collected the sum imposed upon them by the superior of their convent.

In general, these itinerant monks are a set of determined villains and thieves, possessing influence only over the low, superstitious part of the vulgar, from which consideration, chiefly, it would seem, they are countenanced by the Turks of fashion, who, though they think them no essential part of the Mu-

hammadan religion, caress and encourage the superiors of this order, or such among them, whose pretension to more eminent sanctity has gained an ascendancy over the minds of the common people.

No church revenues, as far as I could learn, are appropriated to the particular use of the Mullahs. The Imams are the ecclesiastics in immediate pay. Mecca and Medina absorb large sums; the repairing and beautifying their mosques, supplying their lamps with oil, and furnishing implements for their use, paying many lay dependants who attend that service, supporting the medresses or public schools, the immarets or hospitals for the sick, incurable, or the mad, are the other channels in which the remainder of that vast and enormous income is expended.

Most writers on the Muhammadan religion, deriving their knowledge from Arabic authors of the very early age of the Hejira, have, I think, too positively blended and confounded it with their present law: for though the Turkish government of the church has apparently remained immutable, yet, while the chiefs through necessity, on the increase of the empire, have kept up the same form of power, they have imperceptibly separated the different functions of religion and law.

The Koran, containing political institutes, as well as religious dogmas, was probably sufficient to regulate the civil affairs of Muhammad's first followers, a a few Arabs, as remarkable for their poverty and the

simplicity of their manners, as for their courage and enthusiasm. And the immediate successors of these men, possessed with a religious veneration for this production of their prophet, continued to blend together in the same person, the functions of the priest and those of the judge; and thus confounded for a time religious with civil rights.

But when his followers became numerous, and their dominion was spread over many opulent and extensive regions, not only religious orders sprang up, to ease the Hierarch of what he considered the drudgery of his office, but also law digesters arose, who, finding the doctrines of the Koran insufficient for the great end of Government, viz: the preservation of order and the well-being of civil society, have remedied its defects without appearing to derogate from its authority, or risk the least alienation of that implicit obedience and profound veneration, which the people paid to it. For under pretence of compiling commentaries, as a simple extension of the angel's or the prophet's ideas, but still keeping to the very language of the Koran, they have provided volumes of civil law, equal and similar to the codes, pandicts, or digest, with interpretations as clear and copious as are to be found in the legislature of the western countries.

Abu Hanife is one of the first and chief of those who have thus commentated on the Koran, his books, and those of his disciples, are the rule of law under

the Turkish government in Europe and Asia. In this manner the original institutes were augmented, as far as related to civil and criminal cases, indeed it must have been necessary to form new regulations, when conquest, riches, and luxury had introduced new crimes, and new subjects of contention. And thus it should seem, the ecclesiastical and the civil first became, in some manner, distinct and separate departments; the Mullahs, Muftis, &c., presiding in the Courts of Justice, and the Imams, &c., officiating in the Mosques; though still the exact boundaries of each jurisdiction are hardly to be defined.

The Mullahs, however, whether considered as churchmen or lawyers, enjoy great immunities, which descend uninterruptedly to their families. Their lives and estates are generally secure; their greatest punishment in office, even for malversation, is exile; and if they are not too obnoxious to government, they may sometimes compound for this by a pecuniary donation. All the profitable employments of the law are in their hands; they are sent out as Muftis or Judges throughout the chief towns of the empire, whence they are promoted to the high rank of Kazi-asker, either of Rumelia or of Anatolia; and at last to that of Sheikh ul Islam or Mufti at Constantinople.

THE KORAN.

I SHALL not pretend to enter into any minute analysis of the several doctrines of the Koran, but confine myself to some general observations.

Some heterodox manufacturers of wit, anxious of appearing singular, though at the expense of common sense, if not of common honesty, have not scrupled to propose themselves admirers of the Koran, have extolled its doctrines, and dared even to put them on a parallel with those established by our Sacred Writings.

Muhammad, superior to his countrymen in parts and science, resolved to be supreme in command. To effect this he had but one game to play, which was to impose himself on them as a Prophet divinely inspired, and his book as an immediate revelation from the Almighty. In this he could inculcate such doctrines and assign himself such pre-eminence and authority as he pleased; in short, his book was of the utmost consequence to him. He therefore very artfully selected as its prototype Truth itself, the

Mosaic and Christian dispensations; for in his travels to Egypt, as well as at home among the Christians and Jews in Arabia, who were fugitives on account of religion, he must have observed the force with which these genuine revelations had captivated the minds of men; and for this reason, without impugning either, he declares the latter of them to be only a sequel of the former, and that his own is a continuation of both, completing the whole dispensation of Divine Providence. This he has judiciously seasoned with what he knew would be most acceptable to his countrymen, and appears most predominant in himself—the indulgence of their lust and avarice in this world, and a most sensual Paradise in the next.

His first step was to persuade the ignorant Arabians that the Koran is an extract made from the Great Book, in which, at the creation of the world, the Divine decrees were all written and deposited at the same time in one of the sub-firmamental heavens, and that there it was faithfully delivered to him, verse by verse, by the angel Gabriel. Hence, in his chapter Al Kadr, he tells them himself, from the mouth of the Almighty:—"Verily, we sent down the Koran in the night of Al Kadr; and what shall make thee understand how excellent the night of Al Kadr is? The night of Al Kadr is better than a thousand months; therein do the angels descend, and the spirit Gabriel also, by permission of their

Lord, with his decrees concerning every matter. It is peace until the visiting of the morn." *

On this passage principally is founded the claim of the Koran to a celestial origin, and to the character of the all-beauteous and all-perfect work of the Creator; and hence that most profound veneration, almost amounting to adoration, which the Muhammadans pay to it. They fancy a chapter or verse can cure them of all diseases, preserve them from all accidents or external evils, prolong life and render it healthful and prosperous. A thorough ablution is necessary before they presume to touch this sacred book; the sight of an infidel pollutes it; and when they read, they must hold it above their waist.

The Turks are eternally puzzled to know when, or on which night, this Al Kadr may be; they think it must be in the Ramazan; and many enthusiasts imagine themselves to have at that season extatic communications with the angelic spirits, who descend from their heavenly spheres.

Muhammad, though so crafty and so able an impostor, did not, however, dare to pretend to miracles, that great criterion of Divine truth, and main basis of those genuine revelations which he endeavoured to imitate, and which he confesses to have been wrought in attestation of their Divine origin. Many urged him to perform them; many asked of him signs; and

* The extracts from the Koran are taken from Sale's translation.

he seems in various parts of the Koran more embarrassed to evade the charge of impostures incurred by not manifesting his vocation by these signs than to establish his doctrines. His own uncles and relations seemed on that account to detest his imposition; and it is evident from the text that he often found his wives rebellious. It is probable that they likewise expected him to perform miracles, for he tells us there were only four of them good and obedient.

When he is pressed for this proof of his mission, he shifts the want of it on the will of the Deity. "They (the Infidels) have sworn by God, by the most solemn oath, that, if a sign come unto them, they would certainly believe therein; verily, signs are in the power of God alone, and he permitteth you not to understand that, when they come, they (the Infidels) will not believe: and we will not turn aside their hearts and their sight from the truth, as they believed not therein the first time: and we will leave them to wander in their error." He then recommends them to believe implicitly in the Koran.

On another occasion, he displays the same dexterity. "The Infidels say, that, unless a sign be sent down unto him (Muhammad) from his Lord, we will not believe. The Lord's answer: 'Thou art commissioned *to be a preacher only*, and not *a worker of miracles*, and unto every people *hath a director been appointed.*'"

By these quotations we may perceive what evi-

dence his external signs of a Divine Mission carried with them: and as to the internal, they are so far from recommending it, that the most of his doctrines and precepts, those properly his own, are trivial and unworthy the slightest attention. The precepts and commands copied from the Mosaic dispensation, of which there are many, or those from the Christian, may commend some regard; although those from the latter source savour of the corrupt channel through which they have passed; for if he preaches the doctrine of benevolence and forgiveness of injuries, it is not with that universal, beneficent, diffused principle, recommended in the gospels indiscriminately to all mankind. He confines these virtues undoubtedly to the narrow limits of his own sect. For they are neither to live nor commune with unbelievers; and so far from being enjoined to forgive them, they are commanded to injure and to subdue them; and it is too evidently shown by their practice how much they honour this precept.

It is, indeed, a pleasant part of the Koran, which represents the Divine communications descending so low as to regulate the minuter interests, and family concerns of Muhammad: it must give us a tolerably just notion both of the Prophet and his people, as well as of those sceptics who have expressed so favourable an opinion of his book. In illustration, let us hear the awful commands of the Almighty imposed on the Prophet's rebellious wives, on so im-

portant an occasion as a vexatious demand they made for fine clothes: to satisfy this demand was a difficulty, probably too arduous for the power of man to overcome alone.

"O Prophet, say unto thy wives: if you seek the present life, and the *pomps thereof*, come, I will make a handsome provision for you, and I will dismiss you with an honourable dismission: but if you seek God and his Apostle, and the life to come, verily, God hath prepared for such of you who work righteousness, a great reward. O wives of the Prophet! whosoever of you shall commit a manifest wickedness, the punishment thereof shall be doubled unto her twofold; and this is easy with God; but whosoever of you shall be obedient unto God and his Apostle, and shall do what is right, He will give her reward and will, and we have prepared for her an honourable provision in *Paradise*. O wives of a Prophet, ye are not as other women; if ye fear God, be not too complaisant in speech, lest he should covet, in whose heart is a disease of incontinence. Set still in your houses, and set not yourselves forth with the ostentation of the former time of ignorance. Observe the appointed form of prayer, give alms, and obey God and his Prophet, for God only desires to remove from you the abominations of vanity."

Termagant and rebellious wives were the least punishment that a man of the prophet's insatiable passion deserved. Instead of four, the number he

allowed his followers, and surely sufficient to ruin the comfort and destroy the happiness of any one man living, he again brings down the Deity to grant him an unlimited permission, and even to direct his amours. If he had been smothered under them all, it would have been a just death for such extravagant lust. *Satia te sanguine* was the saying of the Scythian Queen, when she plunged Cyrus' head into a vessel of blood.

Muhammad's Paradise, flowing with delicious waters, planted with the most odoriferous trees and shrubs: but above all, the exalted enjoyment of black-eyed Houris, would lead me further than I intend. The few quotations, given in my text, merely to save the reader the trouble of reverting to the Koran itself, will sufficiently evince what marks of sanctity and of a Divine mission we must expect from it: they will likewise demonstrate, what an abject idea the false Prophet, and his ignorant followers, must have had of the Divine perfections: how contradictory passages such as these must be, to those pompous and inflated descriptions of the Deity, with which they are most impiously mingled. I shall follow Muhammad no further in his impurity, but say with the Prophet, Habakkuk, "he that runs may read."

I must, however, observe, that some of his laws, if not rigidly just, are yet an effectual security against despotism and the oppression of the people, especially

such as relate to probate property, widows, orphans, inheritances, legacies, and crimes.

One conclusion is, I think, so clear, that it must be evident to all sagacious and impartial men: that the whole Koran is a discordant, incoherent jumble of sentences, gleaned from fugitive Jews, and Christian sectaries, Nestorians, Monothelites and Eutychians, strangely huddled together by the false Prophet, and imposed on an ignorant, enthusiastic people, who could not give a stronger mark of barbarism than in believing it to be the word of God.

We possess many good translations of this extraordinary book, made from genuine and standard copies of the original; excellent ones were found among the Granadine Moors, by Cardinal Ximenes, and correct copies may be always purchased in Turkey, though at a high rate. Indeed, there is scarce a risk of possibility of being imposed upon, for the Muhammadans hold it the highest sacrilege to alter a single point or iota of this, their sacred book: and most men of letters among them, like the Jews in Palestine, think it not only a duty, but a special recommendation to the Deity and his Prophet, to have every word and tittle of the Koran so fixed and imprinted on their memories, that they can on any occasion repeat it *extempore*.

De Ryer's French translation may err in the idiom, but the general doctrines are sufficiently exact; Maracci's Latin one is sufficiently correct;

and that in English by Mr Sale, is undoubtedly, in every respect, of approved accuracy.

As I happened to converse on this subject with a learned Effendi, who was known to have the Koran by heart, a chapter of Sale's translation was explained to him in the vulgar Turkish dialect: the old Turk in a sort of rapturous surprise, followed the interpreter, repeating verse by verse in the original Arabic. He remained astonished and amazed: and asked with some emotion, how we could have so perfect a translation, the sense so justly preserved? He added that the author must have been an excellent proficient in the Arabic language, and a very great man.

I cannot conclude this chapter without observing, that from what I have said of the practical religion of the Muhammadans, we are not to infer, that they are universally, and without some exception, destitute of virtue: nor of all humanity toward strangers. I have already, in my general character of the Turks, anticipated this remark, as far as I could consistently with truth. I cannot help, however, repeating it: bad as they are, they are the best people in their Empire.

That corrupt religion perverts the rectitude of nature, and that the Turks are notoriously depraved by it, is too true: but how many absurd sects of Christians are there, who, deviating from the original institutes and pure precepts of Christianity, are

strangers to that perfect simplicity and universal benevolence inculcated by its sacred founder: and are as destitute of social virtue and common humanity, towards those who differ from them in opinion, as the most zealous and ignorant Turk.

TURKISH DESPOTISM.

MANKIND, either from habit or prejudice of education, or from presumption and opiniativeness, are apt to think the Government of their own country the best: hence they are led to censure other modes of administration, point out their defects, and frequently, without sufficient knowledge even to revile and abuse them.

The Government of the Turkish Empire has been grossly misrepresented by censures of this kind. The shocking stories about its despotism have misled some, and raised the religious zeal of others to abhorrence and detestation, while many, not under the influence of religious passions, have felt their nature shudder at the frightful idea conveyed by these accounts. Hence, notwithstanding the regular system of that haughty court, people have been induced to annex the idea of Barbarism to it; have supposed it to be without order or plan, entirely subject to the caprice, cruelty and avarice of a tyrant, who aims

merely at the oppression of his subjects, and, as far as his power extends, at the destruction of mankind.

Surely these men did not, or would not, look nearer home; it was, perhaps, too near—for let us only cast an eye about us, and impartially examine the Governments with which we are surrounded, and we shall then in all probability find that the Sultan is not more despotic than many Christian sovereigns; perhaps, not so much as some of them.

Although it is absurd to look for perfection in any body of laws or political institutions, since the production of the human mind, from its limited nature, might all be imperfect; yet we may fairly conclude that in every Empire which has extended widely and flourished long, there are some parts of the constitution wisely regulated. And it is certain, that whatever defects may be in the political system of the Turks, their Empire is so solidly founded on the basis of religion, combined with law, and cemented by general enthusiasm, and the interest as well as vanity of Turkish individuals, *that as it has lasted now for many centuries, it bids fair for a stability of ages.*

We have seen, in a former chapter, that the Turks have laws to regulate property, and secure commerce; they have others to punish crime, and restrain vice. It is not the Turkish law, but the corrupt administration, the flagitious venality of the Judges, and the number of false witnesses connived

at, and whose testimony is accepted by these judges that bring opprobrium upon the Turkish Empire.

How far Muhammad intended to limit, or to extend, the power of the Sovereign, I shall not pretend to determine; the degree in which the present Sultans are absolute, is an inquiry more to the purpose. Of this, facts will best enable us to judge, and those we shall produce will show us the nature of the Turkish Monarch's despotism; and that, independently of fear, the constant companion of and restraint of tyrants, he is limited by religion and law. But we shall first consider his claim to inherit the possessions of some of his subjects.

Those who are directly employed in his service, and those less immediately so—for instance, the officers and the Pachas in distant provinces know that they hold their offices on a kind of feudal tenure; they, notwithstanding, eagerly solicit and contentedly accept them on this condition, submiting, or it may be said, covenanting and agreeing, that the Sovereign should inherit at their death.

The affinity of this law or custom with the tenures of the old feudal law, transferred, in this instance, from lands to office, would lead us to think it had its origin from those tenures, for they had prevailed over almost the whole world at the time the Koran was framed, and subsisted among ourselves long after the conquest.

By these tenures land held in fief reverted on the

death of the holder absolutely and irrevocably to the feudal prince or lord; the family were left to shift as well as they could for subsistence; they had no claim of recovery, nor even a pretension to relief in their necessities, except from mere commiseration and humanity. Muhammad, either by chance or design, has effectually secured the people from the immediate inconvenience and oppression of that tenure.

Estates annexed to the church, in land and houses, either in actual possession or in reversion, are held both by prince and people sacred and inviolable; those persons, therefore, by whatever means they have acquired their possessions, who give the reversion to religious foundations, transmit them without alienation or molestation to their direct male issue. Mecca and Medina are the places generally preferred, because held the most sacred. They call this settlement vacuf; they pay an annual, very trifling, quit-rent, until the extinction of that issue, when the whole devolves to the religious foundation on which it is settled.

This previous law or tie of religion binds the prince to so rigid an observance, that there has never been an instance of even an attempt to violate or reverse it. For independently of what he may conceive to be his duty towards God or his Prophet, the least breach of such a law destroys the very foundation of his throne; it is merely by the Koran or its religious institutes that his sovereignty exists.

The moment he abandons these doctrines, or violates these laws, he becomes an infidel, and ceases to be the lawful sovereign.

Muhammad had not limited this law of security merely to his own followers. It extends to all religions, and Christians and Jews may avail themselves of it. And, as most of them, led by ambition or interest, aspire to enjoy more or less the countenance and favour of the great officers of the Government, they generally take advantage of this protection to settle their possessions either in Mecca or Medina; or, perhaps, with greater facility on one of the several mosques in Constantinople, or wherever else their fancy or connection may lead them.

The Jews, indeed, have been excluded from some of the mosques, as it appeared by the registers that in the space of a hundred years not a single reversion fell in, whence the Turks, it should seem, have concluded that the direct male issue of the sons of Abraham is eternal. From what has been said of the vacuf, it is obvious and worth observing that the revenues belonging to the church must be immense, and that in succession of time it must swallow up into its enormous bosom almost all the lands and possessions of that vast empire.

The Grand Seignor is considered as absolute sovereign of the whole Turkish empire; the subjects approaching him treat him as a divinity, with the highest veneration and respect. He should, in strict

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... year, the deposi-
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... new turn to the consti-
... time in the seraglio,
... minister, a kisliar aga,
... chs, an experienced and
... in office under Mahmud's
... the deposed Achmet: he
... served the cause, traced
... the remedy.
... the permanent continu-
... the Vizirs — to their
... sless disposition for war
... counselled the new Sultan
... wn hands: to change his
... ring any one to continue
... and to live in peace with
... maxims he advised his
... quillity of the Govern-
... throne, and Sultan Mah-
... nty-four years, steadily

... thinks himself bound by
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himself, or by persons of high rank in his service, he applies to the mufti for his fetfa—his decree, his decision, or legal sanction.

It is true that, as he appoints the mufti, he can depose and exile him, but that is the worst fate that can befal him. It is also as true that many of them, n different reigns, have actually withstood the will of the Sultan, and that the sovereign, notwithstanding, has not dared immediately to resent their disobediences. On these occasions it has been deemed necessary to invent some more plausible pretence for disgracing them. The people would in this case be too clamorous with the argument against violent proceedings, and those of the law alone might shake his throne.

The Koran, we have observed, secures property, of which the following fact is a remarkable instance:

In the year 1755, the Porte was burnt entirely down: on rebuilding it, the consideration was, how to place it on the former spot, and at the same time render the situation secure from a similar accident for the future.

The method determined on was to leave a sufficient space about it, and for that end to purchase and demolish several houses that were contiguous. Most of the owners submitted to a sale: but there was one old woman who declared that she could not, and would not part with hers: that it had been in the possession of her family for several generations, and

no money could compensate the infinite value she set upon it. No offers tempted her, no threats could avail anything. The men in power cried out and abused her, but the injustice appeared too violent to dare and take it by force; and when it was asked why the Sultan did not exercise his authority so far as to take it and pay the value: the answer was—"'Tis impossible, it cannot be done, *it is her property.*"

Notwithstanding the transcendent expressions the Turks use when speaking of their sovereign, they will frequently murmur, talk freely, abuse him and his ministers, throw anonymous scurrilous papers into the mosques, and seem even rife for rebellion, if irritated by frequent and unusual acts of tyranny. They are taught that he is established by God, that he is a descendant of their prophet, through whose mediation they expect salvation; and yet in a moment they will deprive him of his throne, his liberty, and even of his life.

This may appear only a single instance of the immense number of seeming contradictions in the composition of human nature, though indeed it might, with other such instances, be accounted for by what an elegant free writer has attempted to prove, that men do not generally act according to principles. Although I think his proposition too general, it is, I fear, in a great measure true; for that there are many men who do not act according to principle is but too evident; they might therefore,

in appearance, furnish a solution, but here would be misapplied and insufficient; for the whole of what the Turks are taught relative to the Government is not taken into the case, and, therefore, the fact is not fairly represented.

They learn very early, that if the authority of the Prince is of right divine, he founds it on the Koran: that he is so constituted by that sacred code of laws, which, as a true believer, he has studied, so as to be convinced, before his accession to the throne, that it must ever be his duty to observe them; and that, consequently, he is as much bound and tied by all those laws as the meanest of his subjects. This is so explicitly and fully laid down in the Koran, that Muhammad thought it necessary to intersperse some exceptional rules for himself.

Hence, when the people are notoriously aggrieved; their property, or that of the church, repeatedly violated; when the Prince will riot in blood, or carry on an unsuccessful war; they appeal to *law*, pronounce him an infidel, a tyrant, an unjust man, incapable of governing; and, in consequence, depose and imprison or destroy him.

They, it is true, first consult their own power, or the probability of success, rather than the rectitude of the action, but always under the sanction of the law, decided by some leading person of that body. And it may be affirmed that no example will be found

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who is bound neither by a positive divine restriction, nor by a compact with the people. If, therefore, the power of the Padischah is to a certain degree limited and circumscribed by the Koran, this power is so far short of despotism. If, moreover, a succession of these Princes have scrupulously and religiously adhered to that limitation, as from a long residence under that Government has been observed, surely the inference is just, that the Turkish Government is a species of limited monarchy, at least not absolute despotism.

The monarch most limited by law and compact may venture to break through and transgress the limitation; and yet the obligatory law or compact still exists; to determine, therefore, whether a government is properly denominated a despotism or not, the question is not, whether acts of injustice and cruelty are constantly or occasionally exerted, but whether the monarch is really limited by law or compact. To argue from right to left can neither be looked upon as just nor conclusive; the abuse of a law or compact, by force, craft, or by any other means, cannot weaken its original obligation; if it be a divine law, it must continue eternally obligatory, and if a contract between parties, it must remain in force till dissolved by mutual consent.

From the original compact in the Koran, and the other circumstances that have been laid before the

reader, it may, we think, be reasonably inferred that the Turkish Empire, if not in every respect a limited Monarchy, borders upon that kind of government; and that there are degrees, at least, of limitation in its sovereignty, no one can surely deny.

TURKISH MINISTERS.

THE change of Vizirs, and sometimes, though rarely, their execution, has given rise to a general prejudice, and has been produced as an argument of the instability and disorder of the Turkish Government. Sultan Mahmud, as I have observed, introduced that change as a maxim of state, and was the first who methodically practised it.

Some of the very lowest class of men, several of whom could neither read nor write, have occupied that high office, yet the order of Government, and the course of business, have not been interrupted for a moment. Another maxim, more certain and salutary, preserves the Government in its regular course; for subalterns in office are religiously continued, and generally advanced upon a change in the Ministry, so that those who have been trained for many years, and practised in business, become the Vizir's amanuenses and instructors. Hence any new Vizir is speedily master of the method of government, or if he be not

so as to the more intricate and difficult parts, he is, so far at least as to keep the empire and the capital in peace, the men of the law in good humour, and the soldiery in due subordination, which, perhaps, are the chief and most important ends of his great power. By this procedure on the part of the Government, no mutation of the higher officers can ever affect the whole, so that when we read of a Kiaya to the Vizir, or a Reis Effendi being deposed, the spirit of the office remains, and business still goes on in its proper course.

The clerks and under clerks are almost innumerable. Some hundreds of hands are kept constantly at work at the Porte ; each of them, with the least talents or genius, aspires to some of the highest dignities, keeps his eye immediately fixed for years on the office he hopes to fill, and by an obstinate perseverance, and never moving out of that course, frequently attains his end.

There is no Christian power which can vie with the Porte for care and exactitude in the several offices; business is done with the greatest accuracy, in any important document, words are weighed, and that signification constantly selected, which may most conduce to their own advantage. Papers of the remotest date, if the year of the transaction is but known, may be found at the Porte; every command granted at the time, and every regulation then made, can be immediately produced.

The rule which the Government follows in the explanation of treaties, or capitulations, or concessions granted to Christian Princes, or in many other cases, is *Precedent;* the remoter the example, the most respectable, and mostly so, what they call the Ancient Canon; any political suit in doubt, or depending between themselves and the Christian Powers, may be immediately determined by producing a Precedent.

The French Ambassadors have often pretended superiority of rank at the Porte; the Turks have as solemnly declared to others the nullity of their pretensions, and that all Ambassadors are on the same footing. But, as the public audiences are granted by rotation, some one must take the initiative; hence they take their prime occupant, the first Ambassador who was established in their country; and this is the single reason why the French have a priority in point of time at audiences, but they have none in order or pre-eminence.

When they feel an inclination to expedite business at the Porte, or it is agreeable to them, no people do it with greater celerity; when the contrary is the case, they will as artfully protract or delay; it may remain suspended for months or years.

The idol the Turks worship is gold, and in all common affairs their ears are opened by that powerful deity. If that be not properly applied, the claims of right, engagements, capitulations, or treaties have generally no effect. Some master-hand must feel the

weight of this specious agreement; but then they are often generous enough to trust to a conditional promise, and be content with the fee after the completion of the business.

The policy of every Turkish minister has himself for its first object; they study solely their own security and permanence in office. This is the only system to which they pay any regard. It is in vain to talk of the interest of the empire, either present or future; the question to themselves is, Can I be safe—can I hold power? When, therefore, matters of high consequence of peace or war are confided to them, if the one or the other does not coincide perfectly with the preservation of their own authority, and especially their personal safety, all the money in the world would not move them.

This personal policy has frequently manifested itself. Their distant governors often aspire to independency, and obtain it. At Babylon Achmet enjoyed this usurped plenitude of power for several years, and, what is more extraordinary, his son succeeded him with undiminished authority, undisturbed by the Vizir, and died a natural death in his government. Not long after his son-in-law, Soliman Pacha, possessed himself of the same post, and maintained the same independence. They disregarded the Sultan's commands, and though they always answered in terms of respect and submission, they acted in accordance with their own will. The Vizirs chose rather

to submit tamely to this insolent treatment, than by resenting it to excite a rebellion or risk their own security, and therefore contented themselves with mere external expressions of obedience. Another remote governor has supported himself on the same footing for many years; but as he is worse circumstanced, and not so thoroughly secure, he must therefore seek some underhand protection in the Seraglio or at the Porte.

On the death of his last patron this protection was lost, and he applied at Constantinople to secure in his interest a Reis Effendi of sordid venality. For this purpose he furnished a credit for a considerable amount, and, moreover, promised twenty-four of the finest Arabian horses for the Vizir and his minister. The person intrusted with the commission sent a man to sound the Reis Effendi, for such messages are always grateful. On his return he reported that he had left the Effendi hesitating, but disposed to accept; it was then thought proper to tempt him with a part of the bribe. The messenger was again dispatched to him with a large bag, sealed. The Effendi took the money, put it in his bosom, mused, rubbed his head, and stroked his beard; but at length drawing the messenger close to him, he told him in a whisper, that he was obliged to him and to his principal for their intervention; he knew that he would be safe in accepting the money from them, but from the governor, or the person who sought protection, it might be

dangerous to himself, for he could not trust him. He then returned the bag, adding that such a step required considerable reflection. He never would receive the money; so that the governor was obliged to seek some other protection, and must have found it, for he is still living, and enjoys his usual independence.

TURKISH ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

THE monarch's great power is not the chief evil in Turkey, and his subjects would perhaps bear that without much murmuring or uneasiness. The radical destruction of all security lies in the iniquitous administration of the laws, which are an impending sword in the hands of corruption, ever ready to cut away their lives and properties. They tell us, however, of some rare examples of incorruptible judges in Turkey; I have heard of one, but none have come to my certain knowledge.

There are in Constantinople several courts of judicature, and the plaintiff has the option in which he will prefer his suit. The inferior are the Mullah of Galata, and the Stamboul Effendi or Judge of Constantinople; the higher, the two Cazi-askers or Judges of Europe and Asia; and lastly, the Vizir's divan, which is the supreme Court of Judicature.

Muhammad exempted his descendants from the authority of these jurisdictions; they are numerous throughout the empire, and are always judged by the

heads of their tribe; in any cause, therefore, in which an Emir or Greenhead is concerned, their proper court is that of the Nakib of Santa Sophia, or Eyub; though I have observed that the Vizir keeps a watchful eye over them, and occasionally controls their proceedings.

The plaintiff has not only a considerable, but almost a certain advantage, over the defendant; for, as he chooses his judge, his first care is to secure him in his interest. All the judges have a Naïb or deputy, who is the real acting person, and generally guides and determines the master: to this man the first application is made, and the bribe offered; if he finds the sum worth while and accepts it, you are generally secure of gaining your suit.

Sometimes, by bribing higher, the defendant may nonsuit his adversary, or he may at least, by quirk and quibble, be enabled to put off the cause, perhaps remove it to another court; and thus protracting it, if he is the richer man, tire him out, until at length the plaintiff is obliged to drop his pretensions, whether just or otherwise, and content himself with a trifling composition.* The means of spinning out

* The same system of corruption, prevalent one hundred years ago in Turkey, is still in full swing in Russia. In a work called 'Nordische Bilder,' lately published, the following anecdote may be found:—"In the Government of Moscow a young man inherited a very large estate. A neighbour took advantage of his ignorance of business, and laid claim to a large tract of forest. The young man went to his uncle, who was the head of the authorities before whom the matter would come, and explained the case to him, in order to

a suit or eluding a decision are various—a defect in the forms of procedure, absence or death of witnesses, denying the validity of seals, the handwriting of others or even their own; or, as all proof is determined by witnesses—and these are to be found in abundance to swear to anything for pay—when a cause is desperate an immediate resource is at hand, for such witnesses may be brought to such a point as will puzzle the clearest cause and justify the law's delay.

There are different species of witnesses; some your neighbours and old acquaintances, others casual, and lastly, those who make a professed trade of attending courts of judicature, and live by it. On informing them of the merits of the cause, they first declare that they appear in it merely because they see the

see whether he ought to come to terms or fight it out at law. His uncle replied, 'As you have explained the case to me you must gain the cause, for your opponent has no title.' The young man proceeded to Moscow, leaving the affair in his uncle's hands. A few months afterwards he was informed that he had lost his cause; he could not believe it, but was assured that he had lost it on account of a bribe of 10,000 rubles his uncle had accepted. He immediately hurried off to reproach his uncle, who listened to him very quietly, and then remarked, 'You have heard that you have lost your suit, that is true; you heard too that I had accepted a bribe of 10,000 rubles from your opponent, and that is also true. Listen, it was of the last importance to him to gain the cause. I found out on sure authority that he had only this sum at his command; if then I had allowed you to gain the suit, as would have been only right, he would have gone to Petersburg with the money and gained the cause on appeal; now do you take the money and appeal to the senate, and you will gain your suit!'"

hardship and injustice intended against you; that, as they know you to be an honest man, on whose veracity they can absolutely depend, they will therefore affirm as truth whatever you may aver to them as such. This profession, which they make with an affected earnestness, is the usual Turkish salvo, and seldom fails to quiet all their scruples.

Or, should it not have that effect, and the witnesses insist on better information, they are concealed in a private room, where they can hear all that passes in an adjoining apartment. Into this apartment the person with whom you are at variance is decoyed, and there such concessions, by interrogatories and other artful management, are drawn from him as may act against himself; these the evidences repeat on the trial, and declare that they have heard. Often, indeed, a friend of your own, who personates the real party, is introduced into the apartment, when he makes such concessions as may be desired in the hearing of the concealed witnesses, who can neither see nor be seen, and who do not choose to detect the fraud, but repeat to the judge what they heard, as if spoken by the real party. In lawsuits no practice of this kind can startle a Turk; all he is anxious for is some pretext which he thinks may still enable him to pass for an honest man. Thus much for their first species of witness.

The last sort are those who make a professed trade of it, and are always ready at any man's service for a dollar or two. By habit and long practice these

require no casuistry, no salvo to their conscience, but swallow their oath, true or false, and will stand or fall by their evidence.

The judges have their deputies, who manage their retainers and other dependants; fellows who constantly attend the courts to bring them custom; their business is to foment litigation, or to raise false suits called Avanias, and under any pretext attack those who are rich and able to pay. No man is secure from day to day, especially if he be a Christian or Jew; for let the cause on which the process is founded be ever so improbable, absurd, or false, he must appear and defend it, when, if he has not secured the judge, a crowd of witnesses are produced, by whose testimony he is assuredly defeated.

Many instances daily happen of demands on property, or complaints of injuries committed, which never had, and never could have, the least grounds of existence. In general, let the cause be right or wrong, Christians or Jews have no chance against Turks except by dint of money—happy if even that can save them. Neither Christians nor Jews are admitted as evidence against a Turk; but Christians or Jews can bear witness for or against each other.

They have no subpœnas; the law does not permit a summons, or oblige any person to give his evidence; he must do it without any compulsion. Turks, unless your dependants, will not appear in favour of a Christian or Jew: the mere force of money must bring

them into court. If they really know the justice of the cause and had seen the fact, they generally expect the higher bribe, and that in proportion as they think their evidence material. If it be for a Christian against a Turk, it is hardly possible to engage them at any rate.

A Greek built a house and planted a large garden on a piece of ground, which had been in the possession of his family for nearly eighty years. All the deeds of conveyance were in his hands, passed in due form of law by the original Turkish proprietor, from whom the estate had been purchased. He, nevertheless, suddenly found himself involved in a lawsuit with the grandson of this Turk, who declared that his grandfather had not sold the ground; that as his father and himself had long been absent on the Grand Seignor's service in the Persian war, they could not have asserted their claim before; but that he had now the witnesses to prove that the Greek's deeds of conveyance were utterly false, and he therefore insisted on being put in possession of the estate.

The only resource the Greek had left was, to remove his suit from an inferior court, to which he had been summoned, to the Vizir's divan; and this, as he was under foreign protection, he easily obtained. His intention by that step was not to bring it to a hearing—he knew that the witnesses against him were ready, and that he should inevitably lose his cause—but the use he made of it was to bribe some

considerable officers of the Porte, to threaten and deter his adversary, whilst underhand he employed others to bring him to a composition, by which means he stopped all further proceedings, though at a heavy expense.

These cases happen daily to Christians and Turks: especially such as the Turks suspect, or know, to be opulent: often among the Turks themselves, though with more caution, as they can outwitness each other with greater facility, and, as in contentions of this nature, the weight of metal will generally crush the poorer antagonist. Herein it may be seen how precarious are all the purchases of lands or houses, made by Christians or Jews in Turkey: and yet it is their ruling passion to possess both.

A main defence or proof in any depending cause is a Fetva, the previous opinion or decision of the Mufti. The case is put him in fictitious names, and concludes with the demand, whether Zayd has, or has not, a right against Omar? Under this is written the Mufti's answer, which is simply: 'he has' or 'he has not'—'he can' or 'he cannot.' At the bottom of the paper the Mufti signs his name and always subscribes himself, 'the poor servant of God.'

Now, generally, this poor servant of God never reads the case: but leaves the whole consideration of it to his Fetva Emini, or deputy, who is generally well bribed beforehand: he states the case in his own manner, and instructs the Mufti in what way he

should subscribe it. This is so true, that there frequently appear opposite Fetvas in the same cause: so that when a party fancies himself secure in the Mufti's decision, he finds it of no effect in court, nor listened to, but frequently totally rejected.

One principal use to be made of them is, that when the judge is well secured by a bribe, though on the unjust side, he will lay a stress on the decision of the Mufti as perfectly just, and shelter his own iniquity under that sanction: or, at the worst, when contradictory Fetvas appear, he may favour the unjust cause by exhorting the contending parties to come to an accommodation.

False witnesses should be punished according to the Koran: however, that happens but seldom. Now and then a notorious vagrant and offender, detected in his perjury, if it be in a cause against some great man, is led through the streets on an ass, with his face toward the tail, and an inscription declaring him to be a Schat, or false witness. But even this is seldom seen, except it be on the accession of a Sultan. A new reign is generally ushered in by some such examples. The Prince declares that he will rule according to law, justice, and truth: as a proper warning therefore to the people, the Vizir lays hold of half a dozen of these witnesses, and executes this pompous sentence. A punishment so trivial has rather a ridiculous than a serious effect: so that the city of Constantinople swarms with these wretches: but even

were it capital, it may be justly thought that their numbers would not diminish; for they are encouraged by the men of law, as the principal means by which these judges, who are temporary and almost annually removed, may make sudden fortunes, so as to enable them to exist when out of office.

To do their Courts of Law all the justice I can, I shall conclude with two remarkable decisions, one of which fell under my own observation: the other, I have been told, is well attested.

A ship freighted at Alexandria by Turks, to convey them and their merchandize, consisting of rice and dates, to Constantinople, met with a violent storm on the passage. The master told the freighters, who were on board, that he could not save the ship, nor their lives, except by throwing into the sea all the goods upon deck.

They consented not only for themselves, but for other freighters, who were at Constantinople. When the ship arrived there, those who had been on board joined with the others to sue the master of the ship, in order to recover the value of the goods he had thrown overboard. The Mullah of Galata, before whom he was summoned, had the case fully represented to him; and his deputy, as usual, had the promise of reward.

When the parties appeared, and the witnesses were examined, the Mullah reflected awhile, took down his book, and gravely opening it told them:

"the book declared that the master should pay the true value of those very goods," that is, what the freighters could prove by witnesses that any one would have given for them, or what they were really worth on board the ship, at the very moment when the master was constrained to throw them overboard, the only means by which he could save the life of the passengers, among whom were the persons who now sued him for doing it. The freighters ran out of Court to find witnesses: but the Judge, who knew it was not a subject on which any evidence could, or dared, be given, without further hesitation signed a written decree in favour of the master.

The second case was before a young Cadi at Smyrna. A poor man claimed a house which a rich man had seized. The former produced his deeds and instruments to prove his right, but the latter had provided a number of witnesses: and to support their evidence the more effectually, he presented the Cadi with a bag containing five hundred ducats, which the Cadi received. When it came to a hearing, the poor man told his story, produced his writings, but wanted witnesses, that most essential and only valid proof of the merits of his cause.

The other, provided with witnesses, laid his whole stress on them and on his adversary's defective law, who could produce none: he, therefore, urged the Cadi to give sentence in his favour. After the most pressing solicitations, the judge calmly drew from

beneath his sofa the bag of 500 ducats, which the rich man had given him as a bribe, saying to him very gravely, "You have been much mistaken in the suit: for if the poor man could produce no witnesses in confirmation of his right, I myself can furnish him with at least 500." He then threw him the bag with reproach and indignation, and decreed the house to the poor plaintiff.

Such instances may happen once in a century, and deserve to be transmitted to posterity: and, indeed, they are frequently related by the Turks themselves, as most extraordinary and uncommon examples.

AMBASSADORS AND THEIR AUDIENCES.

THE Turks have properly no idea of the law of nations: they consider themselves as the only nation on earth, and regulate their own conduct towards others on positive compact, spontaneous concessions, or usage and customs. Foreign Ambassadors, therefore, have no other security but written concessions, of which they possess copies, or such unwritten privileges as their predecessors enjoyed. No longer than about fifty years ago, a Vizir, Yin Ali Pacha, thought them only civil spies, and proposed removing the residence of such troublesome guests to the Prince's Island, nine miles from Constantinople.

As the trading powers remote from the Turks have no reciprocal advantages to grant them, their Ambassador in Turkey must submit to such terms as the Government pleases to allow: and it is more surprising that their capitulations or concessions have been so well observed, than if they had been totally neglected.

When there were only four Ambassadors and one Resident in Turkey, the character was supported with greater dignity, and held in higher esteem by the Turks. It is true that their method of living was not the most sociable, but still it seemed the best calculated to engage respect and esteem. They copied the manners of the great men among the Turks: visiting rarely, but when they did, it was with all the pomp of Eastern ostentation: they dressed for that day in the most sumptuous manner, had their servants in rich liveries, and five or six led horses, were it only to cross a narrow street. They never appeared in public on ordinary occasions, nor crossed from Pera, where their residence was situated, to Constantinople, without all the pomp and show of representing the person of a great monarch: if they visited Santa Sophia, or went to see a Beiram, it was with written commands issued to them by the Porte, who took care to have them escorted and attended by proper officers: in short, an Ambassador was thought by the lower class of Turks, to be a different being from the others of his nation. He was seldom seen: and when he showed himself, he appeared with the splendour of the greatest officers in their own Court.

The eager desire which the Princes of Europe have displayed to obtain the Grand Seignor's friendship at any rate, has greatly heightened the enormous vanity of the Porte: and the increased number of

Ministers has rendered the whole body less respectable in the eyes of the nation.

If, perhaps, the same maxims could have subsisted, which had formerly been the rule of conduct among the four Ambassadors, the same consequences would have yet resulted: but, however necessary it may be, men used to freedom, and to living in their own way, cannot easily submit to such restraint: and, indeed, there are few who can suffice to themselves, or find a sufficient fund of entertainment in their own minds. A tacit compact may exist for a few years among four, but that is almost impossible among ten: so that, as difficult as it was formerly to see an Ambassador, you now meet them, or Ministers of the second rank, whom the people have not learnt to distinguish from them, at every corner of the street, and in every part of the city. They make no scruple, at present, to visit an Armenian, a Greek, or a Jew, to run over to a Beiram, or any public show: sometimes, they meet with an insult, which they conceal: often with a push, which an insolent Turk will cross the way to give them: and this is commonly followed by the epithet, Giaour or Infidel, the Turkish epithet of detestation and contempt.

If an accident of the most serious nature were to happen to them in Constantinople, they could expect little or no satisfaction, for the Porte would immediately throw it on their own imprudence, and tell them plainly, as they have already done on such oc-

casions, that Ambassadors should not expose themselves in a crowd, but acquaint the Porte, when they have business abroad, and then they would be properly secured from insult. In this situation, when public Ministers are admitted on stipulated conditions, and only customary privileges as easily withdrawn as granted, it behoves them more particularly to live with great circumspection, in order to support their dignity with the Turks, and maintain decency and order in their families.

Whenever this conduct is duly observed and practised, few inconveniences have ever arisen in Turkey. With such a demeanour, the Ambassador will find a satisfaction in himself, ease and order in his family, no rivals among his domestics, no riots, and no insults: and, consequently, no complaints made to himself, or the Porte, both of which will otherwise too frequently happen. The Turks have a homely proverb, which they have not improperly applied on such occasions, "The fish first grows putrid at the head," meaning, that if the servant is disorderly, it is because the master is so.

The dignity and importance assumed by Ambassadors in their representative character was, for some ages, it should seem, thought too much on a level with personal sovereignty, to admit of a fixed residence, or permanency, at any Court. In those times, therefore, Ambassadors were sent only on any extraordinary and temporary occasions: as, on settling

some immediate and important point in dispute: or a negociation of marriage: or, more generally, on the conclusion of a long and sanguinary war: probably, as a mark of sincere reconciliation, and as proper notice to the subjects for their future conduct, by authenticating the security of their mutual intercourse.

The Turks religiously observe the latter very ancient custom: Ambassadors never appear reciprocally except after a war: and whenever the frontier is removed by the events of that war, then the exchange of Ambassadors from the two Courts is made.

As soon as the Ambassador crosses the Turkish frontier, the Grand Seignor is considered as his host, and the officer who receives him, styles him the Sultan's Musaphir or guest: whether this is done through ancient custom, a remnant of the general hospitality of former times, or from the respect in which they hold the office of an Ambassador: or whether it be only a parade of the Grand Sultan's power and magnificence: whatever be the motive, he is immediately provided with every necessary for his journey, as a considerable allowance is given him in money, which is continued during his stay at Constantinople. The Ambassador from a commercial power claims the same right, and enjoys it, though in a lesser degree; his necessaries, however, are fully supplied: but as soon as the journey ends, that emolument ceases.

A Vizir aga is sent by the Porte to receive him

at the frontier, and to conduct him safely; his route is traced, his resting days in the several towns are fixed, as also the Taïm, or allowance which he is to have for his subsistence, and the number of horses and carts allowed for his servants and baggage; he is treated with respect and distinction, and as well provided as the road will afford. The several districts of the country furnish the expense, and it is passed at the treasury in the article of their contributions. The countries through which the Christian Minister passes, are generally gainers by it, for if one dollar is necessary to defray their expense, by adding another as a regale for the Vizir aga, they obtain from him a receipt for four, which they pass to the Grand Seignor as really paid.

It is worth remarking with what incredible precaution, politeness, and lenity, the commissary, or Vizir aga, treats the Turks in the course of his journey, but when he comes among the Bulgarian Christians, if the ambassador does not interfere, he will not restrain himself from using them with the cruellest oppression and indignity.

The flattering prospect with which an ambassador is received into the Grand Seignor's territories, gives him not only the hopes of a continuance, but of an agreeable reception and residence near the throne of the princes. When he arrives, he is welcomed by a message from the Vizir, flattered and caressed by a number of Greek, Armenian, and Jewish dependants,

with a civility the lowest, basest, and most disgusting.

The first opening of his functions is a visit to the Vizir; they both seat themselves, the Ambassador on a stool, the Vizir on a corner of his sofa; mutual civilities pass between them, without any variation in the language since the existence of the empire. He is told "that as long as his master observes the laws of friendship with them, the Grand Seignor will correspond." The honours of the Caftan, sweetmeats, coffee, and sherbet are presented to him, but when he departs they clap their hands, hiss him out of the room, and two officers who attend him, one on either side, attempt at half way to make him turn back and salute the Vizir, who never stirs off his corner; he who forgets his character may be surprised into it, but he who remembers it keeps on his pace and drives on his leaders.

On one occasion that offered of adjusting the ceremonial with an ambassador, who thought himself aggrieved, this usage was redressed, and, it is to be hoped, continues no longer. But however greatly such indecency may shock the delicacy of a man, jealous of his master's dignity, he has a much more humiliating scene to go through at his audience of the Sultan.

The time appointed for the ambassador to arrive across the Bosphorus, is day-break; on his landing he is received by the Tchauch Bashy, or Marshal of the Court, in a house appointed for the purpose,

the stairs of which are no better than a ladder, and the room fit rather for the reception of a Polish Jew than for a man of his dignity. Often, and indeed generally, the Tchauch Bashy is not present at the Ambassador's arrival, but the common excuse is, that he is detained in the mosque at his prayers.

When the first civilities are over, an insinuation is made to the Ambassador, that he must expect the Tchauch Bashy will ride at his right hand. This part of the ceremonial, long contested but never given up by the Turks, except only when they have been beaten into it, leaves the Ambassador the sole resource of protesting; all other opposition is in vain: he, however, insists that a gentleman of his retinue shall ride at his left. With seeming reluctance they admit this claim, if urged with proper resolution. It has indeed been often productive of serious contests and disorder in the procession, and sometimes almost of a suspension of the audience.

After waiting some time in this miserable chamber at the waterside, the Vizir's command arrives to let them know that he is ready to depart from the Porte to the Seraglio. The cavalcade then begins, and marches in state to the Vizir's door, where, whether it rain, hail, or snow, the Ambassador must remain on horseback in the street to see his pomp, and to salute his Highness and his whole Court as they pass by. When they are near to the gate of the Seraglio, the Ambassador's train advances slowly, and on his

arrival, he finds the Vizir seated in the divan chamber.

In the middle of this chamber an old square stool is prepared for the Ambassador, and he is then fixed, if the stool can support him, for at least two hours, hearing the decision of causes he cannot understand. But if it be a pay-day for the Janissaries and Sipahis —and this the Turks generally choose—he is entertained by seeing about two thousand four hundred yellow bags of money counted and distributed, and this lasts at least four hours; so that on a cold day, without a furred coat, his very vitals may freeze, and at any time the spine of his back must suffer cruelly, for he has nothing to lean against to support or ease it.

After this part of the scene is over, a new one succeeds it; the dinner is served; the Ambassador sits on his stool, and the Vizir on his elevated sofa; a round table is placed between them, at each side of which a handkerchief is laid, to wipe the mouth and hands; fifty dishes, succeeding each other every half-minute, come in like a torrent. A head servant stands near the Ambassador with his arms bare; his office is to tear a fowl in pieces, and to lay the choicest morsels of it before him, all of which he performs with his fingers; he commends incessantly the excellent dinner, whilst the Vizir presses his guest to eat, and perhaps enters into familiar conversation with him; and at the last, to crown the repast, a single draught of sherbet is served. The Sultan

all the while peeps through a dark window to see the whole entertainment, and as soon as it is over returns to his Audience room.

The Tchauch Bashy enters with his *talkish*, or order in writing to the Vizir, to tell him that the monarch is on his throne; he receives it with the utmost submission, first touches his forehead with it, then kisses it, and having read it, puts it in his breast, and departs. After his departure the Ambassador is told that he must cross the court-yard to proceed to the audience. He is preceded by the Tchauch Bashy, with all his officers and attendants, richly clad.

But he does not immediately enter the Audience chamber; he is stopped in the court-yard, where, under a tree, by way of a bench, is a single old board, on which, at other times, grooms, ostlers, and scullions lie to sun themselves, though it sometimes serves them for less decent purposes. On this, that he should not wait too long standing, they desire him to sit till he is vested with the caftan. They do not examine whether this bench is wet or dry, clean or dirty, nor whether it rains or snows. As soon as the ceremony of vesting is over, two Capidji Bashis seize him by the shoulders and carry him in. He finds the monarch at one corner, seated on his sofa, higher by much than common, and covered with a canopy; his legs rather pending: at his side lies a rich sword, with some regalia. He eyes the Ambassador askew, hears his harangue, which, were it spoken with the

eloquence of a Cicero, would meet with little attention; nor does it import in what language it is pronounced, for the real one is given in to the Vizir beforehand, translated by the dragoman, or interpreter of the Porte, who, after the Ambassador has finished, repeats it extempore in the Turkish language to the Sultan.

The monarch addresses a few words to the Vizir, who advances towards the centre of the room, and answers the Ambassador in their usual common-place language. This the interpreter explains, and then the audience finishes, and the Ambassador is dismissed. After all is over, he expects to be delivered from the tediousness of that day, and, without further obstacle, to mount his horse and be off. He mounts, it is true; but in the second quadrangle of the Seraglio he is stopped, and obliged to wait on horseback until the Vizir passes before him on his return home, and then he is suffered to depart.

Personal vanity, or national pride, has not permitted Christian writers to set this ceremonial in its true light: some Ambassadors have even softened down and palliated the worst of its indecorum. They have gone so far as to pretend that the presents they carry, and which they are compelled to give at every audience, reflect honour on themselves as the givers, but none on the Turks as receivers.

Whoever is acquainted with the Oriental practice, and knows the ostentation, pride, and haughtiness

of the Turkish Government, must know that they look upon and consider such presents as actual tributes. There is one of the neighbouring courts, which has taken it in a true and becoming sense, and stipulated in their treaties that presents shall be reciprocal, and exchanged, but not insolently exacted.

We may be surprised that other courts have not followed this example; but what appears more surprising is, that this very court never took into serious consideration the existence of the ceremonial, and the indecent usage of their representatives. It is surely strange that the Imperial Court should have neglected it at the treaty of Passarovitz, since they thought it expedient at that time to make it an express stipulation "that their Ambassadors should appear at these audiences in whatever dress they pleased;" for, before that time, they were compelled to wear the Turkish habit. They most certainly were not informed of the mortifying particulars I have related, or they chose to pass over with contempt what might appear to them the vain ostentation of the Turkish Court.

I must, however, observe that, except the mortifications which attend an audience, it may on the whole be said that if Ambassadors are not encumbered with disagreeable business, such as may interfere with the interests of Turkish individuals, or of the Porte in general, they may reside in Turkey with great dignity, ease, and satisfaction.

AMBASSADORIAL DIFFICULTIES.

In Christendom we have the satisfaction of knowing the minister with whom we treat, and of transacting business personally between man and man; we have an opportunity of acquiring information, and of hearing what can be said with regard to the point in debate; of drawing probable conclusions from our own knowledge of men, and of what passes in conversation; and judging in part of what we have to hope or fear.

In Turkey it is quite the reverse; all foreign ministers transact their business with the Grand Vizir, through the medium of the Reis Effendi. They are, perhaps, admitted to the presence of the former at one or two ceremonial visits, according as occasion offers, and the latter attends at these public functions; but they have not an opportunity of consulting with him. Add to this, that there are several underlings who influence both; they scarce know these by name, and consequently cannot transact business with

them in person. Hence they are under the necessity of trusting other men to transmit their thoughts and sentiments to these unknown ministers, or, what is still worse, are obliged to have recourse to writing; and if the Turkish Ministry happen not to like the subject, it will never produce an answer, but will be bandied about and exposed to public view for a trifle.

Hence arises a great perplexity to zealous ministers, for if they intrust their secret to interpreters, who, with a large family, live on a small salary, and are used to Oriental luxury, the temptation of money from others is with difficulty withstood by them; and even exclusively of any considerations of gain, they are often incited by mere vanity to discover the secret they are intrusted with, in order to display their own importance. If a minister, on the other hand, has recourse to writing, he is equally in danger of being betrayed the next moment.

It was a common saying with an Ambassador at the Porte, that three great evils were incessantly complained of at Constantinople—plague, fire, and rebellion; but for his part he had experienced a fourth, which was worse than any of them, and that was the Dragomans or interpreters. He had, however, less reason to complain, because those he employed were his own countrymen. But it must be acknowledged, that as Oriental education is essential

to a Dragoman, they with that imbibe all the qualities of the natives themselves, and are scarcely to be distinguished from them but by name.

At the time that the four ambassadors residing at Constantinople saw each other only once or twice a year upon solemn occasions, the Dragomans were more absolute masters of business and of the Ambassadors; every report they made them, and every tale they told them, were swallowed with implicit credulity. They could not compare information, they knew not whence it was derived, nor, consequently, what stress should be laid on it. The Dragomans thereupon finding their great power, and becoming sensible of their own importance, agreed among themselves about the news of the day, or made a Reis Effendi speak as they thought proper.

I remember to have heard from persons who had the best opportunities of information, that the ambassador above-mentioned, who made use of a Dragoman of his own nation, had an affair of importance depending at the Porte. He constantly pressed his agent to bring him a categorical reply, with regard to what he had to expect on the sentiments of the Turkish ministers. The Dragoman, to all appearance, hurried away to the Reis Effendi at the critical moment, but constantly returned with some evasive answer; the delay increased the Ambassador's impatience; and on repeating his orders to the Dragoman

with some warmth, the latter hurried away, determined as it were on compelling the Reis Effendi to let him know his final decision.

The Ambassador immediately on his departure ordered a confidential servant to follow him at a distance, and observe where he stopped; he never crossed the water, but entered a house by the way, which was a rendezvous for the Dragomans, and where they passed the whole day very agreeably at cards and other diversions. Upon his return to the Ambassador he repeated to him many compliments from the Effendi, whom he had not seen, and told a long story of what the Porte could, or could not, do in the business, all which concluded nothing, but he hoped to bring a more satisfactory report on the next occasion. The Ambassador dissembled, and, hoping to have as good success in the negotiation as the Dragoman had that day at cards, armed himself with patience to await his own time.

The fact is, that when the business in agitation is disagreeable to the Porte, the Dragomans are very unwilling to be concerned in it; insurmountable fear gets the better of their resolution, and they choose rather to hazard any outbreak of the Ambassador's displeasure than expose themselves to the brutality and indignation of the Turks; in this they are ingenuous, and freely own it.

They know that if they do not disgust the Turkish ministers they are sure of their protection; and that

if another is sent to them they will not listen to him, or will desire the Ambassador, or by dint of delay compel him, to reinstate the very man he is, perhaps, determined to remove.

The case has been since somewhat altered by the constant intercourse which Ambassadors have at present with each other; those who are in alliance often compare notes, and the accounts brought them from the Porte. I am inclined to think, notwithstanding, that they are not yet secure against the same art that was formerly practised. The Dragomans previously concert what they have to say, and adhere as nearly as they can to the same story. Hence new ministers (I mean such as have only resided at Constantinople three or four years) must implicitly give credit to what these interpreters tell them, for they cannot in so short a time have secured other channels of information.

There are but two methods of employing these interpreters. In some affairs, as, for instance, those relating to commerce, the right way is to give them your entire confidence, except when there are demands of money; your intention as to any concession in that respect must not be revealed, for you always run a risk of their paying their court to the Turkish ministers at your expense; and if they once give them hopes of money, however remote, they will look upon it as their due. With regard to any sums in litigation, and to be paid by the Porte to private persons,

on any debt or demand, the ministers are sure to come in for their share; promises or concessions for any reward or payment must therefore be made only in the last extremity.

In political affairs, which are the most difficult of all (for in these the ministers on the other side are always ready to have recourse to bribery and corruption), as little of the business as possible should be intrusted to the Dragoman, and such a part only on an opening at the Porte, of which no ill use can be made. How much may be safely communicated must be determined by your own judgment, and by the combination of every circumstance and ill consequence which might result from a discovery, should the matter become known to your adversary. It may be for your advantage to deal at the same time with the Dragoman of the Porte, securing him with the promise of a reward for his trouble, and enjoining him such secrecy as you may think requisite. This is, indeed, very hazardous, and yet there is, I fear, no other resource for a new minister. But he who has resided there many years, and has had the opportunity of forming connections and acquiring a thorough acquaintance with business, is by experience and observation almost able to walk alone, or at least to manage in critical junctures even without the assistance of his Dragoman.

There is, perhaps, in all governments, but more especially in this, about the person of the Prime

Minister, or great man in power, some creature, minion, favourite, or old friend, or perchance one of his own slaves, who starts up like a fungus after a shower of rain, and through whose hands the great man's most secret and important concerns are conveyed. It is to him the most agreeable channel, as it is that of confidence: this person, though inferior both in knowledge of the world and understanding to his master, has such an ascendancy over his mind, that he can bring him to relish any proposal he thinks proper; the secret is sure to be kept; it is for his interest that it should, nor will his master or himself allow it on any account to be known that he meddles in state affairs, or that any business is transacted but through the common form.

It is a very difficult matter to arrive at a knowledge of these retainers to men in power—these temporary statesmen. It is useless to have recourse to the Dragomans to make this discovery, for if they know them at the Porte, they reserve this knowledge for their own use; they take care to keep others from that scent as much as possible, and endeavour to make the most of their interest with this creature of the great man, without suffering anybody else to have it. An Ambassador at the Porte should, therefore, make it his particular study to form a close connection with those persons whose immediate interest it is to know where this latent influence lies, who these men are, and the means of acquiring their confidence.

The best persons to have recourse to for this purpose are the agents or residents of the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia at the Porte. These men are in a particular manner interested in knowing the ebbing and flowing of power; they are the first to make sure of those who are capable of prevailing in the confirmation of the Prince's authority, of counteracting and baffling the intrigues of the deposed Princes, and thereby preventing their own ruin. For the Government of these two Principalities may properly be considered as in the hands of these agents; they engage with the Porte, and with private people, for large sums, which they raise for their Prince's use; and it is chiefly by their intrigues that he is made and deposed. In a word, the reigning Prince is but a phantom of power, while these persons govern, and in them the Vizir and Ministry of the Seraglio put their confidence in pecuniary matters: it is, therefore, incumbent on them to know thoroughly and betimes to whom to apply for their own preservation, and in this they are very expert and sagacious.

The Turks, in all transactions of business which concern themselves, are violent, impetuous, and precipitate: their first setting out is like a sudden torrent, running with such rapidity, as to hurry along with it, or break down, every obstruction. If they have even the most distant prospect of gain, or if the object they have in view is of such a nature as to en-

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of personal danger: let him then consider himself like Socrates in Plato, happy in adhering to truth and virtue, and carry with him, in his own mind, that conscious satisfaction which will not fail to prove its own reward.

Such perplexing and difficult conjunctures occur but rarely, especially in political affairs: in commercial, there are means to turn the torrent of their wrath by the soothing palliative of a golden unction: this never fails of success.

Let commercial treaties with them be ever so clear and explicit, they will still wrangle, dispute, and wrest them to their own interpretation, which they will maintain to be a necessary one: when such treaties and capitulations have been at different times renewed, and subsequent advantages granted, then is the time for them to cavil, confound, and distinguish: they will never agree that the last more favourable article destroys the preceding, but insist that it is at their option to choose either; nay, they will comment away with red ink by the side of black, till they reduce facts to a sort of metaphysical jargon.

After a tedious negotiation for several months, you must have recourse to the golden method: the chief man concerned in the affair, convinced of the equity of the demand, or the justice of the defence in case of an attack, might have an additional motive to second it with the Vizir. He will content himself with the promise, perplex the cause, do all he can to

[illegible]ss and confusion, and set aside [illegible] conclusive arguments that have [illegible] support. More frequently, however [illegible] he will, after having confuted [illegible] of the chief Ministers, supply [illegible] reasons of his own, which an [illegible] would be almost afraid and ashamed [illegible] the other knows, are of sufficient [illegible] the Vizir's approbation, or even [illegible] Seraglio, if the matter has been referred [illegible] frequently happens. And perhaps [illegible] as they are, have often been [illegible] course of the debate, by those on [illegible] nation the affairs depended, insomuch [illegible] use made of them by the Foreign [illegible] friend to support and carry his [illegible]

[illegible] which the commercial powers of [illegible] with the Porte are mere con[illegible] and there cannot be, the least [illegible] way to support them is by [illegible] behaviour; and a constant [illegible] presents of various sorts be[illegible] necessary. A Minister must urge [illegible] as rarely as possible, never com[illegible] on their foundation, except in [illegible] and suffer an inconsiderable [illegible] disregarded, rather than lay it be[illegible] tribunal. It is of no use to make a

stir and disturbance, when you have it not in your power to hurt: and though it may be by some thought advisable, and may be so in fact in most political and reciprocal engagements, not to suffer the most inconsiderable part of them to be violated or infringed; in such cases as these, when there is no prospect of a support—when the Turks know threats and menacing language to be empty wind and airy bubbles—where mercantile men may be hurt, and can hope for no redress—the merchant has no weapons to defend him but moderation and prudence: and all his sagacity can suggest to him no wiser conduct than to choose the lesser of two evils.

All negotiations with the Turk must necessarily be carried on in writing. The Vizir never grants an audience, without being previously informed of the general purport of the memorial. This method of treating in writing is dangerous: for if they send you papers in their own language, they take care to make use of such expressions as may be afterwards interpreted into a sense of their own: synonymous terms abound in their language, and the construction of most of them is precarious. A thorough knowledge of the roots of Arabic and Persian is requisite to render a person perfectly master of their language: very few of the interpreters employed in the service of the Christian Powers are sufficiently versed in these languages: it is therefore found necessary, in affairs of importance, to have the original Turkish paper ac-

companied by an Italian translation of their own, however barbarous it may be, though they can write that language tolerably well. The sense will thus be ascertained, and if the Minister understands Italian, which he should by no means be ignorant of, he knows on what ground he stands: otherwise, time may discover some capital errors in the substance of his negotiation. It is surprising to see how expert the Turks are in taking this critical advantage: I have known them dispute whole weeks about the wording of political treaties, and a single term has frequently given rise to the debate.

Ambassadors and Ministers should remember that they are only received conditionally at the Porte, as guests to the Grand Seignor: it is incessantly repeated to them, that as long as the King, their master, remains on amiable terms with the Sultan, so long shall the treaties and concessions be observed, but no longer: when they conceive the least suspicion that this friendship is violated, their hospitality to the Minister ceases. The Law of Nations is unknown to the Turks, and, consequently, disregarded by them; as far, therefore, as the treaties or capitulations extend in their favour, and custom or prescription has authorized any particular regard to them, they may plead it.

When the Turks have formed a resolution to declare war against any Power, they discover their resentment immediately by their treatment of its Minister;

y insulting his person, they affront
who has offended them, and consider
their hands whom they must secure.
practice has been to imprison them in
ers. Sultan Mahmud, in the last war,
stance of a Grand Seignor, who deviated
general practice: the Russian Minister
with the army, and received the most honor-
tment.

Turks are exasperated or calm, and their treat-
of the Minister is more or less severe, according
the behaviour of his Court, or as the events of the
ar turn out to their advantage. Their treatment of
him is bad at the best, and if the war lasts seven
years, he must submit to his fate, and bear the
horrors of a rigorous imprisonment. As Ministers
at every Court avail themselves of the favourable
moment to raise their Master's and their own personal
value, such a circumstance as that of a war is what a
neutral Ambassador should seize. The method of
proceeding among the Turks is always to conclude a
peace by means of mediation: a mediator they must
have, and will most probably show the most favour to
that Minister on whom they think that they can
most depend. If it should be their fate to be un-
successful, it will not be at their option to choose: they
will then constantly keep their eye upon those persons
whom they know to have the most credit, by friend-
ship, alliance, or otherwise, with their enemy. A

Minister so circumstanced may therefore assume something more, and ask favours which he could not flatter himself with the hopes of obtaining at another time; at such a juncture, the Turks will not fail to cultivate his friendship, and be cautious how they refuse him anything he applies for.

The Russians, after the Treaty of Pruth, were continually uneasy at the advantages the Turks had gained over them, and there is not the least doubt that the cause of the war which forced the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739, was that the Russians wanted to retrieve their military reputation, to re-establish the honour of their arms, and impress the Turks with awe and respect. They succeeded in their purpose: for, during the whole reign of Sultan Mahmud, not only the Russian arms, but their very name, were dreaded by the Turks, and the Court of Petersburgh acted as if it had a right to demand. Fortresses were built with impunity on the Russian frontiers, and a considerable one at a small distance from the Turkish territory: but the Turks, although regarding this proceeding as a violation of the treaty, only made very gentle and friendly remonstrances to the Russians during that reign.

Upon Sultan Osman's accession to the throne, the Vizir endeavoured to keep his place by changing the pacific plan of his predecessor: *it is no longer Sultan Mahmud's reign*, was then the language. He artfully began with the above-mentioned fortress, and

made pressing applications to the Russian Resident, representing the unfair procedure of his Court, and at last expostulating with him on the basis of the treaty of Passarovitz, and the last that had been made at Belgrade with the Emperor of Germany; and he protested against the building of fortresses as a violation of the treaty subsisting between the two Powers. Debates therefore ran high between these Ministers, and the unsatisfactory answers received from the Resident caused great uneasiness in the Seraglio and at the Porte.

A neutral Minister, whose master's interest in Christendom was then closely allied with that of the Court of Russia, and who was sensible that it was of the highest importance to their interests to prevent a rupture between the two Courts, saw the obvious ill consequences that must arise from personal discussions, and perceived that the uneasiness of the Porte daily increased. He, therefore, resolved to improve the hints they suggested to him, and to draw the negociation from the parties immediately concerned into intermediate hands. He privately insinuated his apprehensions that they were precipitating themselves into hostile measures about what perhaps had no real existence, or, if it had, was of little or no importance in itself; and that, should they appear to be the aggressors, they might involve another Court, of whose pacific intentions they had daily proof, in the hard necessity of fulfilling their engagements with Russia. He there-

fore proposed that application should be made to the Minister of that Court, the facts fairly stated to him, his sentiments known, some time allowed to find means of satisfying the delicacy of the Porte, and, above all, that the Russian Resident should be left to his own reflections.

Thus the affair remained in suspense for some days, till a new paroxysm of uneasiness seized the Porte: the Turkish Ministry then produced a paper, containing a statement of the case between the two Courts, which they sent to the Minister who had insinuated the means, and another to the Minister to whom he recommended application to be made, reserving their opinion with regard to the justice of the cause.

TURKISH MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

It may be a question, whether men, before they assembled together in cities, or formed societies within the enclosure of towns, were not more pure and undefiled in their manners, and endowed with greater rectitude of morals. The more mankind are together, the more their wants increase, the more their passions are raised: and they seek every means to supply the one, and satisfy the other.

Hence, I once concluded, arose the difference between the city and the rural Turk: the former artful and designing; the latter open and simple; though equally with the other asserting an air of contempt and backwardness in their services toward Christians, the result, I suppose, of education and religion.

From this appearance I was tempted to inquire, as diligently as I could, whether the Turks living in separate hamlets, unconnected and unmixed with Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, were more virtuous and honest than those in towns and villages, where

all these religions are professed, and the different sects, herding indiscriminately together, form, as it were, but one people. I put the question to several, without obtaining a satisfactory answer; at length the same Effendi with whom I conversed concerning the Koran —a native of Bosnia who had lived long in his own country, and who seemed always to think freely in matters of religion—answered me that they scarcely knew in a Turkish village what trickery, deceit, or roguery were among each other; that having observed and compared the difference between them, and the villages in which Turks and Greeks were mixed, he found, by undoubted observation, that the latter tainted the whole community; that they taught the Turks to deceive, to embroil their own families; seduced them into processes and lawsuits, inspired the Cadi of the district with the lust of gain, and, in order to gain his protection, became his instrument in the iniquitous means of acquiring it.

He added, that nothing could furnish a better example, or illustrate his subject, than the manners of the Turcomans, bands of whom are itinerant through Asia, like the ancient Patriarchs, and among whom fraud and deceit are almost unknown; if, however, they happen to mix with the Armenians or Jews in villages or towns, they become as consummately artful as any of them, but they seldom dare return to their own community.

Notwithstanding the general abuse of power, the

venality and other defects which may be found in the Turkish Government, their internal policy, or provision for the security of individuals, is excellent, and worthy of imitation. Highway robberies, house-breaking, even pilfering, are almost unknown among them; but, in time of peace or war, the roads are as secure as their houses; the whole empire, especially upon the high roads, may always be traversed with the utmost safety, and, considering the continual concourse of passengers, it is wonderful how very few tragical accidents happen—not one, perhaps, in several years.

This security, possibly, may be founded on the same principle upon which our divisions of hundreds and tythings were first instituted. In a similar manner, the whole Turkish empire is divided into different districts of country, which are answerable for every robbery or murder committed within their limits. They are therefore vigilant to prevent either, as they soon feel the weight of a severe and summary justice. For, on the least pretences, a great officer of the Porte is immediately despatched to take their examination—the districts paying the expense of this inquisition, whether they exculpate themselves or not—nor does he depart till he has stripped them of almost their last farthing.

The meaner Turks, however, must have some emotion superior to that of fear which restrains them, for the country is so extensive, and the roads are so open from one extremity of the empire to the other, that they might rob and murder with impunity, and

escape to some distant province, notwithstanding every human precaution to prevent it. I know that a Frank, dressed in the costume of his own country, travelled alone round the camp of a Turkish army, assembling for the Russian wars, and passed through it without being asked a question, or receiving the least interruption on his journey.

Whether the Turks look on stealing with disdain, as a baseness unworthy human nature, or whether they do indeed fear the laws, which, however, are not very severe, housebreaking, or pilfering by Turks, scarcely ever happens at Constantinople. In that city the Bulgarians are most to be apprehended; they are generally the thieves; yet you may live there with security, and your doors remain constantly open.

The Greeks seldom rob anything considerable; but their fingers are as nimble, as their genius is sprightly: they *will* pilfer. Every little, they say, accumulates till it becomes a heap: and that little is scarce missed, or, if missed, is not an object worth inquiry. In general, however, many of the Island Greeks are sober and honest, except with their tongues, for they will say and unsay, invent and tergiversate, with a marvellous promptness and fluency.

Birth does not recommend to great offices in Turkey: merit and abilities may exalt the cottager to the highest offices of the Empire. The Turks do not think that blood can convey either the same faculties of the mind, or the same moral qualities from the an-

cestor to his successor: but they believe that virtue, wisdom, courage, and riches, in short every distribution of gifts and talents, and all the different ranks and orders of men, are decreed and allotted by the Supreme Being to the different individuals of society, without any regard to particular families: so that even the descendants of their Prophet, who are very numerous, generally remain in the lowest and most abject state, enjoying only some trifling privileges, which can never influence their fortune.

I observed, however, that some families are respected by the people, merely for the merits of their ancestors. One, indeed, the descendant of Ibrahim Khan, is particularly distinguished by all ranks: and some assert that he is visited twice a year by the Sultan himself.

Ibrahim was Vizir to Muhammad II. That Sultan, when he had subdued Wallachia, quitted Adrianople, and passed over into Asia, to chastise several Princes who had revolted against him. He was stopped on his return from the expedition by an impostor, who pretended to be Mustapha, the son of Bajazet, lost or killed in the battle against Tamerlane. This impostor was besieging the city of Nicæa in Bithynia, when Muhammad attacked and routed him: but, soon after, was taken ill of a dysentery and died. His son, Murad, was then in Europe warring against the Bulgarians. In this critical situation the Vizir Ibrahim conveyed advice

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be in proportion to their wealth and connections, or their public donations.

But what is certain, and seems an essential mark of distinction, is, that any man in the empire who marries a lady descended from a Pacha, or an eminent person in the law, or, indeed, of any other profession, must content himself without any other wife; nor does he dare have a mistress in the same house. I have seen it carried further by a Vizir who was thus married: for, though he had his female slaves without the house, he was obliged to conceal it very carefully from his lady.

The Turks are strong in their parental affection, and the children reciprocal in their obedience, submission, and filial duty; such education leads them to much seeming modesty with their superiors, and the young men to great veneration toward the old. Perhaps this, with their total and very early separation from women, has infused that remarkable bashfulness in their behaviour towards them, and occasions that respect with which they treat the sex.

A man, meeting a woman in the street, turns his head from her, as if it were forbidden to look on her: they seem to detest an impudent woman, to shun and avoid her. Any one, therefore, among the Christians, who may have discussions or altercations with Turks, if he has a woman of spirit, or a virago for his wife, sets her to revile and browbeat them, and by these means not unfrequently gains his point.

The highest disgrace and shame would attend a Turk who should rashly lift his hand against a woman; all he can venture to do, is to treat her with harsh and contemptuous words, or to march off. The sex lay such stress on this privilege, that they are frequently apt to indulge their passion to excess, to be most unreasonable in their claims, and violent and irregular in the pursuit of them. They will importune, tease, and insult a judge on the bench, or even the Vizir at his Divan; the officers of justice do not know how to resent their turbulence; and it is a general observation, that, to get rid of them, they often let them gain their cause.

A remarkable scene was acted by the women at the accession of Sultan Mustapha.

His Vizir, Reyab Muhammad Pacha, who, toward the end of the preceding reign, had found himself unsettled in his post, and expected daily to be deposed by the intrigues of the Seraglio, neglected to provide the necessary supply of corn and rice for the yearly consumption of the city, though it was an essential part of his duty. The public granaries were almost empty, and less rice than usual had been imported: however, contrary to his expectation, he found himself invested with full power by the Sultan, and rendered absolute, but then it was too late in the season for him to introduce plenty. Bread, mixed up with oats, barley, millet, and sand, was dear and scarce; and rice hardly to be bought at any price.

In this distress, the men bore their want with passion and sullen discontent; but the women, impatient and daring, assembled in a considerable body, and, armed with hammers, chisels, and files, attacked the magazines, where, as they asserted, rice was monopolised in great quantities. No opposition could stop them; and while the public officers were perplexed what course to take, they broke open locks, bars, and bolts, burst into the magazines, took with them such quantities as they could carry off, and went away unmolested.

None of these female rioters were ever punished, as far as we know, and if you spoke to a grave Turk about it, he answered with a sneer, it was only a meeting of turbulent women.

I have heard it avowed by a person of great veracity, who had lived for some years in a Sultan's Harem of the blood royal, that it was impossible for women to behave with more decency and modesty than the Turkish ladies, and that they treated each other with the greatest politeness. In families of the higher class, where education is more extended, where reading their own language, or the Arabic, is carefully cultivated, precepts of virtue and morality, of gentle demeanour and good breeding, of chastity of manners, with whatever decorates the sex, are likely to be inculcated.

But, in general, it is known that the women who are sold or presented to their great men, either for

wives or mistresses, have their price and value regulated, not only according to the form or beauty of the person, but according to those acquired graces and artificial allurements which they have been industriously taught; these are always such as may conduce to influence the passions. Hence they teach them vocal and instrumental music; certain peculiar affectations in their gait, and frequently such dances as to a modest spectator would appear rather indecent. I must add, as the general opinion, and what I have always heard, that the Turkish women are rather immodest. This may possibly be with some justice applicable to those women who are sold, or presented to the great and opulent.

Whence the idea of the transcendent beauty of the Turkish women has arisen, it is difficult to say, unless it be from the warm imaginations of inventive travellers, who first raised these beauteous forms, sketched their charms, and became enamoured with originals they never saw.

Hence, throughout Christendom, the fair Circassian has been the subject of romance and song; when, perhaps, there are not two Christians who ever saw one of these Venuses. It is certainly impossible in Turkey, for, from infancy to old age, scarce a single trace of a Turkish woman's face is perceptible. No adult maiden is ever visible, or no married woman, except to their parents, brother, or husband. As soon as they put on the macremma, or veil of modesty, every

feature of their face is covered, except a small part of the nose and eyes: and some have carried that custom to such an extreme of delicacy, that, when they feed their poultry, if there are cocks among the hens, they will not appear before them without it.* If Praxiteles or Apelles, with an angelic conception added to their art, were to meet a body of these fair ones, they could not form the least idea of the colour, form, or proportion of the face or features of one person among them; all to be distinguished is black or blue eyes, and the tincture of the skin is just faintly discernible.

However, as they carefully preserve their faces from the harsh influence of the different changes of the air; as their hours are regular, and they are not exposed to a nocturnal atmosphere, or to the mixed warm exhalations of crowded rooms; we might expect that if the original formation happens to be beautiful, and nature has given them a fair and vivid complexion, these charms would be preserved for many years, and only suffer a gradual decay at the approach of old age.

The Greek women are not tied down to the rigorous observance of Turkish restraint; they visit frequently, and, except in the street, their faces are not muffled up in the macremma. Of these we may speak with

* This reminds one of the American young lady, who would not cross the potatoe field, because the potatoes had eyes.

certainty: they have, for the most part, good features, and pleasing countenances, but, in general, rather a tanned than a fair complexion.

The one and the other, indeed, become decayed before nature intended it; they destroy the whole texture of the solids, by the too frequent use of hot baths, and they hasten too early to matrimony. The Turkish women are obliged to bathe by the precepts of their religion; the Greeks by custom, luxury, and choice. The number of public baths at Constantinople is prodigious, and that of the private ones incredible. The last, indeed, are the highest indulgence of luxury and vanity, for all who are at all in easy circumstances have convenient baths of their own; and among the more opulent, it is common for them to be most magnificent.

The Turks and Jews may, on account of their religion, be held excusable, even in the extravagance of this expense; but the Greeks and Armenians have only empty vanity to apologize for it; they, nevertheless, indulge that vanity, although they tremble lest a Turk should know that they dare to imitate or vie with them in magnificence.

The public and private baths may differ in their ornaments and dimensions, but do not vary in their models and structure; and they seem formed merely for a decent and modest use.

They consist of three rooms: the first is a large hall, where the bathers wait till the bath is ready for

them; the second is an apartment in which they dress and undress; and the third is the bathing room. The bath itself is a large stone or marble cistern, of capacity sufficient to receive a man lying in it at full length. In the public baths they have a number of these cisterns, which are supplied with water by several pipes conducted through the walls. The bathman or woman, according to the sex of the bather, attends, washes, rubs, and dries them with surprising dexterity and art, suppling and stretching the joints in such a manner that imagination would persuade one that they dislocate every part of the body, and yet this operation occasions rather an agreeable sensation.

The women are generally attended by a female slave or servant of their own; they undress in the room appointed for the purpose, and put on their bathing-clothes, which are usually of blue and white checked cotton. After they have bathed, they return again into this room; there is a sofa in it, on which they throw themselves and are dressed, and when sufficiently cooled they return into the hall. Those who prefer it have the bath heated purposely for them; but two never bathe together in the same cistern; and different hours of admission are assigned to the different persons who intend bathing on the same day. Indeed, the heat will not admit any lengthened stay in the bathing cistern, though most who use them indulge to too great an excess.

[illegible] in Turkey to marry boys of [illegible] to girls of eleven and twelve, [illegible] under that age; the practice is [illegible] all sects of religion. They are joined [illegible] in the good faith of their parents or relations, [illegible] are never permitted to see each other [illegible] the nuptial night. Various tricks, it is said, [illegible] played on these occasions among the [illegible] Armenians: the lame, the deformed, and [illegible] were often matched to beauty and vigour. [illegible] parties imposed on complained, the contriver would answer with a compliment to their [illegible] good qualities, and a profession that their [illegible] to this fraud was only a desire to improve [illegible]. This injury is the greater, as Christians [illegible] easily obtain a divorce; but at present, indeed, [illegible] girls become daily wiser, and generally [illegible] a peep through a window, of in a room, [illegible] are not so scrupulously delicate as not to unveil [illegible]. In fact, they often marry without [illegible] anything except their own inclination.

The Turks are more conveniently circumstanced [illegible] to the matrimonial tie. The Grand [illegible] is entirely exempt from it; he claims the [illegible] Muhammad reserved for himself; and to [illegible] a formal contract of affinity, or, in the Turkish [illegible] and to mix blood with any family in the [illegible] he has no wife but only mistresses. The [illegible] who gives him a son is called the Sultana

Haseki; she is crowned with flowers, takes on her the prerogatives of a wife, and governs in the Harem.

Other Turks are allowed four wives. They may marry, or, as it is called, Kabbin; that is, they appear before the tribunal of justice, declare the woman to be their wife, and enter into an obligation, that whenever they shall think proper to dismiss her, they will maintain the children, and give her a certain stipulated sum, which they proportion either to their circumstances, or for the time they may judge it convenient for them to cohabit with her. It is no stain upon a woman's character that she is put away, nor much impediment to her finding another husband.

Among the middle or common people the sum is generally very moderate, and varies from five thousand to a hundred thousand aspers.* Hence you find few of this rank who have more than one wife at a time; for they frequently change, dismissing one and taking another, as it is done with little trouble, and at no great expense.

The opulent have often three or four wives, and perhaps many slaves, but if they choose to adhere to the more laudable part of the law, and keep only two wives, it is equally convenient; for they may alternate and change as often as the number will admit. After a divorce they may take the same woman a

* 120 aspers are equal to 2s. 6d

second, but not a third time, unless she has been married to another husband. No man can marry a divorced woman sooner than four months and a half after a total separation from the former husband. The man may oblige a woman to nurse any infant she has borne him, until it is two years old.

Whether from such a promiscuous intercourse with women, or from whatever cause it may arise—there is not that number of children in Turkish families, as the idea of polygamy naturally suggests; it may even be affirmed, that they have not, in general, so many children as may be found in common families of Christians and Jews. Giul Achmet, who died Pacha of the Morea, had the greatest number I ever heard of in one Turkish family—namely, seventeen. Among Christians, I knew one family of twenty-one, and another, of twenty-three children, by one mother in each family.

May it not hence be inferred that polygamy is a deviation from the law of nature? Is it not a strong presumptive argument to prove, that, as the number of male and female births run almost in equal proportion, so, to keep up a constant order of population, one woman only should be allowed to one man.

That this supposed proportion between the number of men and women holds true, may be justly concluded from the obvious consequence of polygamy in Turkey, for to what other cause can it be attributed, that they have not a sufficient supply of women for

their men? It is evident that throughout the vast extent of the Muhammadan dominions, they have it not, but women are daily imported among them from other countries; they are a merchandize of exotic production, the price of which ebbs and flows, according to the plenty or scarcity of the market.

War supplies this want by the number of female captives: the Turks in their excursions are very eager to seize women, and during that time women are plentiful and cheap. But what is strange, in time of peace the mere poverty and misery of their neighbours, the Georgians, who are a kind of Christians, oblige that wretched people to furnish spontaneously their fairest maidens to the Muhammadan markets, as their country must starve and perish without this species of commerce.

I cannot help observing how the world has been imposed upon and amused with romantic stories of the artful and subtle amorous intrigues carried on with Turkish ladies. It is as easy to scale Heaven, as to reach them; their apartments are fortresses, most of them surrounded with high walls, and they have not a window which opens toward the street: their guardians are ever about them, and the secret can never be withheld from ten, twenty, or double that number of other women. They seldom or never walk the streets but in infancy or old age; the rich are never seen; and were opportunities to offer, which might render it possible for a Christian to attempt an

intrigue with a Turkish woman, he knows that on detection, immediate death is his doom: and that those who have been accessaries, whether by encouragement or connivance, must share the same fate.*

It is difficult to give a just account of the manner in which Turks, men or women, spend their time when at home. Some of the former are undoubtedly studious, though most of them seem ever busied about money affairs, and their personal interest. When they are disposed to enjoy some relaxation among themselves, the diversions are story-telling, quaint jokes, chess or draughts; and not unfrequently

* Bayle St John, in his "Village Life in Egypt," makes a similar remark. "Adventures of every kind are rare in Cairo, and as to the intrigues which some of them have imagined themselves to be engaged in, they are, so far as I know, mere ludicrous deceptions. There are a few "ladies of quality" who are always falling in love with Franks supposed to be gullible or rich; and so and so, who allowed himself to be dressed as a woman, and nearly injured his spine by the exaggerated imitation of the wriggling walk of a true Masriyehs, may be assured that the adventure was known beforehand in his hotel, and known all over Cairo the next day. The heroine was merely the commonplace foil of the too-celebrated Stamboolina. Egyptian women certainly are, according to all accounts, licentious and prone to intrigue, and many of them had affairs with Franks even during the month of Ramad-han. But if a person's taste lead him to these equivocal adventures, he must qualify himself by a very long residence in the country, and not merely don the national costume, but learn how to wear it—no easy matter—and, moreover, acquire a considerable knowledge of Arabic."

they amuse themselves with dancers and musicians, who ply in the different parts of the Town for employment.

If none of the company are sufficiently facetious to entertain the rest with that low ribaldry in which they chiefly delight, they find some dependant, in the Greek, Armenian, or Jew, to act the part. They take their place in the middle of the room, on their knees, and tell their story or repeat their joke, while the grave Turk smokes his pipe on the corner of the sofa, and now and then testifies his approbation by a smile or a dry laugh.

Gaming they highly detest, and look on a coomerbass, a gamester who plays for money, as worse than a common thief; no being is more odious in their eyes; they therefore never touch a chess table, or a draught board, except for amusement.

Their dancers they obtain among the Greeks, and what appears most unaccountable, unless we suppose it arises from the absolute contempt in which they hold that people, is, that the Turks, born in the same climate, and mixed some centuries with them, have not yet adopted their mirth and jollity; and that they can hear and see them, continually dancing and singing, without stirring a leg themselves, or joining in a chorus. Those who are engaged in mercantile affairs are necessarily mixed up among some hundreds of Greek mariners, who, when they are on shore, or, indeed, on board their ship, are never

without music and dancing, yet a Turk is never found revelling with them.

The men of high, or even middling rank among them, seem to look on dancing, as regards themselves, as unbecoming the dignity of man, befitting only the meanest and most abandoned of their species, *nemo ferè saltat sobrius nisi insanus.* "No one dances, unless he is drunk or mad." They, therefore, never fall into that excess, except when they are quite mad, or almost utterly intoxicated; indeed they never are so by halves; and then they seldom fail to call in, at least, the public dancers, whose obscene gestures prohibit the glance of a chaste eye.

Their own vocal and instrumental music they hold in esteem. The vocal has a shrill, sharp tone, as if it was through the nose of the singer, the voice is, nevertheless, pleasing; and with all the discordance of instruments, still there is something grand and martial in the combined sounds of the whole.

However, no Turk of any fashion will deign to touch an instrument;* they hire minstrels, or have women or slaves bred up for the purpose. But what is remarkable, neither Italian nor French music, vocal or instrumental, makes the least impression on them; their organs or their conceptions are not

* A well-known Greek Voivode, or Prince of Moldavia, obtained that dignity by playing on the guitar to one Ephraim or Ibrahim Effendi, a favourite of the Grand Seignor's.

accommodated to such sounds; they seem to affect them like hearing an unknown language.

The women's great accomplishments are singing and dancing; the men look on them as congenial to the sex, but they are practised in private only among themselves, simply as domestic amusements, or to pass an idle hour. In many harems, indeed, I have heard that they embroider and spin.

The Grand Seignor often diverts his ladies with a variety of recreations. In the month of May they have the great tulip feast, which requires vast preparations. There are in the gardens of the seraglio, large portions of variegated tulips, which, on these days, are interspersed with all kinds of singing-birds; shops are erected round them, and furnished by the Sultan with all sorts of trinkets, toys, and rich stuffs; some of the most facetious females of the court are the shopwomen; he buys from all, and regales all his ladies; at night, this bazaar is decorated with lamps, and makes a pleasing prospect even at a distance.

Great men indulge their women in similar amusements, and on these occasions of festivity, some call in neighbouring harems, so that, perhaps, the women pass their time more happily and agreeably than we imagine; at least, they enjoy better health and vigour than if they had operas, plays, Ranelagh, Vauxhall, balls and routs continually harassing their constitutions, and abridging a short existence in a vortex of capricious and turbulent diversions.

Wine is severely prohibited by their religion. Muhammad knew his votaries too well to entrust them with the use of it, for they are strangers to moderation in their passions; wine seems to have a different effect on their constitutions from what it has on the rest of mankind, for it drives them generally to fury, frenzy, and distraction. But, notwithstanding the prohibition, the vice of drinking gains ground with the Turks, and imperceptibly creeps from the lower to the higher stations; perhaps in this very case, as in many others, restraint may quicken appetite, and inflame desire.

Men of some distinction, even those in great offices, frequently make what they call parties of pleasure, merely for the sake of intoxication, and after lying two or three days wallowing in liquor, return fresh and happy to their office. A frequent request to such Christians as they know they can trust is to procure them the best wine. Some principal officers, both in the Seraglio and the Porte, have so strong a passion for it, that they have invented small leathern boxes, in which they convey it home without the privity of their Turkish servants; and I have known others fill large leathern pipes which were pliant round their bodies, to carry wine surreptitiously into the Seraglio, at the risk, perhaps, of their lives.

When it happens that, towards the decline of life, religious scruples have seized them, or that those in high office have apprehended the Sultan might dis-

cover them by the odour of their morning's draught, they frequently change their wine for opium, which is equally intoxicating, and perhaps attended with worse consequences, both to the corporeal and mental faculties. Some still continue that practice; but at present those among the great, who feel a scruple, or fear a discovery, rather betake themselves to distilled strong waters, with which they are abundantly supplied from Zante and Corfu. The casuistry with which they silence their scruples is, that fire, which purifies all things, has, in this instance, destroyed and dissipated the impurer parts of the wine, and that brandy is nowhere nominally interdicted by Muhammad. Thus they think they can overcome the precepts of the Koran, cheat the devil, their Prophet, and the Sultan.

The vice of drinking wine is, however, looked upon with detestation by the generality of Turks; and even the use of opium is held in great contempt as a vicious practice. When they wish to depreciate the character of any considerable man, who is known to chew it, they call him a Tyriaki, that is an opium-eater, by which they mean a person of an extravagant and irregular turn of mind.

To give a detailed account of the several military establishments in Turkey is not in the power of any mortal. I doubt whether any one man in their empire ever attempted it. At Constantinople there are a hundred and sixty-one oddas or chambers for Janis-

saries, distinguished by their commercial order, like our regiments, and said to contain from 800 to 1,000 each; but these different chambers are never fully occupied by that number. Most of those whose names are registered as belonging to them are dispersed throughout the empire, live as citizens mixed with the people, and follow different trades and professions.

The policy of Sultan Mahmud, whose principal object and supreme study was his own security, has imperceptibly reduced that formidable body of militia, at least those residing in Constantinople, to a state of quiet dependence and submission.

All these oddas or chambers, originally intended for no more than 40,000, and since that time augmented, are said to have at present 160,000 men belonging to them; but this must be greatly exaggerated, and there are never within the walls of Constantinople more than 8,000 or 10,000. These serve as a guard for the city, are formed to discipline, accustomed to chastisement, bending to the stick, strangers to the ancient spirit of their soldiery, and permitted no other weapon than a large taper club. If any of them should be guilty of insolence, or attempt at insubordination, he is immediately dispatched to a frontier garrison, or to the other world.

The pay is small, so that many who call themselves members of their chambers almost disdain it; they receive the pay, indeed, merely to be considered as

belonging to the corps, and to enjoy its immunities, protection, and support.

The duties and customs are, properly speaking, farmed at Constantinople and throughout the empire. The subjects of those Christian powers who are under capitulations, that is, who have treaties with the Sultan, pay very low duties on goods imported from Christendom; but the Turkish subjects sufficiently compensate that difference. The officers of the customs charge them at pleasure, according to their will and caprice, eight, or ten, or more per cent. on whatever they import.

Sultan Mahmud, among other immunities, granted the Janissaries an exemption from these duties of importation. This has induced a surprising number of them to engage in the most lucrative branches of their coasting trade, extending it even to Cairo, Syria, &c., and has effectually turned their martial into commercial spirit. Thus by promoting industry he introduced riches and luxury among them; so that many of those veterans, who formerly rejoiced in the confusion of rebellions and revolutions, are at present anxious for the tranquillity of the Government, on account of their own security and ease.

The police of the great city of Constantinople is admirable. The Janissaries, as I have observed, are the city guard; with simple clubs they keep all the inhabitants in subjection; no riots, no mobs, no disorders are known in the streets; at the least

noise the delinquents are secured, confined, and punished.

In Sultan Mahmud's reign about thirteen Asiatic Turks, prompted by enthusiasm, or inspired with the fumes of opium, ran in a body through Constantinople, exciting the people with most vociferous exclamation and unceasing uproar to instant rebellion, and exhorting them to raise their standard at the Hippodrome. They caused an universal terror among the inhabitants, the shops were all shut at once, and the outcry of rebellion spread itself over the city. But these desperate rebels found none hardy enough, or sufficiently prepared, to join them. Their celerity was so great that the Janissaries could not reach them. They penetrated, without meeting with any opposition, into the Bazesteïn or great exchange. Most of the shopkeepers there being Greeks, their ancient spirit, or rather their own security, obliged them to attack the rebels. Armed only with the poles which support the shutters of their shops, they knocked down the Asiatic Mussulmans, who were all seized; while the brave Greeks, terrified at their victory, quitted their shops to seek an asylum, and to secure themselves against the rigour of the law, for having murdered, as they imagined, the unbelievers.

The Sultan's equity, however, soon dissipated their fears, and put a stop to any proceedings against them. He published, under the sanction of the Mufti, not only a free pardon to the Greeks, but full permission

to his subjects of any religion to destroy all disturbers of the public peace; he might have added, and of his own security.

False weights are what the civil police prosecutes and punishes with the utmost rigour. The Vizir himself often visits the shops in person; the Stamboul Effendi, or Judge of Constantinople, watches them assiduously. The Bakers, who are principally Armenians, are the most frequent victims to the severity of their justice. If in any shop they find bread short of weight, they mulct and bastinado for the first offence; and the consequence of a second or third, after a summary process, is a staple driven into the centre of his door-case, on which the offender is hanged; and it is not uncommon as you pass the streets to rub against a baker's body pendant for three days consecutively. It is, however, inconceivable that almost weekly examples cannot deter them from fraud.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREEKS.

THE modern Greeks bear a strong resemblance to the ancient. Too crafty and subtle, too intriguing, vain, and vindictive either to support and maintain the interest, reputation, and glory of a republic, or to submit to government under a monarch of their own; their busy spirit seems exactly formed to live nowhere tranquilly, but under a foreign yoke, where the heavy hand of power can depress the soaring ambition of their genius, and curb the violence of their passions—where severity can awe them to obedience, and if not to the virtues of society, at least to social peace and tranquillity.

The Turks have suffered them to retain some marks of honour—some traces of a former splendour; but these are entirely confined to the hierarchy of their church, and to three employments of profit and dignity in civil government.

The former consists in their four Patriarchs, and, perhaps, 120 other metropolitan bishops; the latter in

the two vayvodliks, or principalities, of Wallachia and Moldavia; and the important office of dragoman, or interpreter to the Porte, who is always a Greek, and through whose hands all foreign transactions must pass.

The Turks zealously support the Greeks in these remnants of honour; they are a never-failing source of wealth to the men in power—a sure profit, of which they can avail themselves without danger. Whoever could live among the Greeks, and observe their refined intrigues, their eternal and continual contests for these ecclesiastical and civil dignities, would see a true portrait in miniature of the worst Peloponnesian republics, and a most striking resemblance of their abominable practices under their own emperors, from Constantine to the last of the Palæologi.

A Patriarch of Constantinople must spend among the Turks ninety or a hundred thousand dollars to obtain that dignity. He seldom holds it above three years, and during that time he is continually studying how to secure himself on his throne.* Several powerful Turks, his protectors, require continual fees; he must devour the church to feed them; and in his precarious situation secure a considerable sum to protect or reinstate himself after he is deposed or exiled.

If he acquires this supreme ecclesiastical dignity

* The Greeks call it the Patriarchal throne, and they address him by the title of ἁγιωτάτε, or Most Holy.

by the favour of the seraglio, the moment after his exaltation his disappointed adversaries and competitors begin to undermine him and contrive his ruin. Indifferent whether with truth or falsehood, they traduce and blacken him to the Vizir, strengthening and supporting their truth or calumny with a powerful present.

If the Porte patronises him, and he has obtained the Vizir's protection, they apply to the seraglio, and attack him there with the same arms. Or, if they have only the same channel through which the Patriarch obtained his advancement, from that moment they are daily suggesting new causes for his deposition.

Different factions, which continually exist among the Greeks, unite together to effect his ruin, and contribute to support the expense of these intrigues; and often personal hatred or family enmity, but most commonly interested views, cement the union.

The metropolitans, who generally reside at Constantinople, exert all their arts to circumvent one another. They make use of every moment, and employ every means, to depose a Patriarch, or to get themselves promoted to a better bishopric, and care not whom they distress or ruin, provided they succeed.

Hence there are continually some of them in exile. Sometimes the man whose money has had sufficient influence with some powerful Turk to promote his

enemy's proscription, is in the same case the next day; for another Turk of superior weight, and actuated by the same motive, procures the banished man the easy means of retaliation; in short, these ecclesiastics are the object of a most lucrative game in the hands of the Turks, which the latter take care to play so artfully, that it is never discontinued.

A metropolitan had fixed his eye on an archbishopric, which he was determined to have at any price. During the life of the Archbishop, all his attempts were in vain; though, in good truth, the Archbishop's character was such as might furnish abundant reasons even for a Turk to depose him.

At length the Archbishop had a paralytic stroke, dropped down suddenly and was thought to be dead. Preparations were made for the funeral. The grand ceremony is to seat the dead Prelate on his throne, dressed in his pontifical robes; while he thus sits in state, two Chaplains attend at the door of the room, when all of the Greek religion are admitted to pay their last duty to him, and kiss his hand; they consider this a species of meritorious act.

The time allotted for this ceremony had elapsed, the moment approached for his interment, the coffin lay at the side of his throne, with all the requisites for finally closing it up, when some of the principal men among the Greeks, who could not attend before, earnestly pressed the two Chaplains for admittance into the room, but were told that it was then too

late. They persisted, however, in their request; and though the usual hour was past, such was the importance of these pious visitors, that the Chaplains dared not refuse. One of them advanced before the company; and, as he approached, the Archbishop opened his eyes, cried out for a glass of water, and asked, what was meant by the dismal apparatus of the coffin? Surprise and astonishment seized Priest and people; they ran out of the room in alarm; the other Chaplain, after some hesitation, boldly ventured, cross in hand, to approach the Archbishop, administered to his wants, and satisfied his inquiry.

During the interval in which the report of the Archbishop's death prevailed, the Metropolitan applied to the slave of the Kislar Aga, and offered to pay him down immediately six thousand sequins for the Archbishopric. All was agreed on, the money paid, and the command from the Porte, which is their *congé d'elire*, was to be immediately made out. A few moments after, the news being brought to the metropolitan that the Archbishop had recovered, and was alive, he went in hastily to the slave, and begged for his money again. But the slave told him, with a grave and composed mien, that it was the same thing whether he paid it then, or some time after, for the Archbishop could not live long. He counselled him to keep quiet, and promised, that, although he would in the meantime keep the money, the metropolitan might look upon himself as heir ap-

parent to the Archbishopric. The Black, his slave and dependants, fell a sacrifice to the public vengeance two months after the Archbishop's resurrection; and the latter lived two years longer, to laugh at the folly of his would-be successor, who, in fact, never succeeded.

But the arts, practices, and outrages, among the clergy are trifling compared with the extent and profundity, the labour, toil, and perseverance of those carried on among the pretenders to the Vayvodlics of Wallachia and Moldavia; they ransack heaven and earth for means to destroy each other.

There are always, when two are in power, two or three of the deposed, who are endeavouring to be reinstated; these spare no cost; they have the purses ready of many expectants, as well as of their own dependants, who have shared the plunder of these provinces with them before; or if that be not sufficient, they promise the sum required, which they may securely do; for when once they are named, they find money at twenty-five per cent. interest, although it frequently happens, that the principal is never repaid. It has been known, that they have disbursed, at the moment of taking possession, from fifteen hundred to two thousand purses* of money to the Porte.

The intrigues they carry on have been so deep

* Ninety-three to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

and dangerous, that they have cost many, even opulent Greeks, their lives, which they have finished miserably in a halter at their own doors. A Frank residing at Constantinople, who acted as a dependant on a deposed Vayvode, and thought himself sufficiently protected, ventured to send a scheme to his correspondent in Moldavia, for exciting that people to rebel against the Vayvode in possession, accompanying it with some reflections against the Turkish Government; he sent it by what he esteemed the surest conveyance. His letter, notwithstanding his precaution, was intercepted, and he lost his head near the seraglio; no solicitations could save him.

The revenues of the Principalities are racked to an inconceivable height. The Princes justify that oppression, by the constant demand from the Porte; their purses must ever be open, or they are instantly deposed. Those of Wallachia are said to amount to three thousand purses *per annum*, but most people think it nearer four. Moldavia is said to produce seventeen hundred purses; but is estimated nearer two thousand five hundred.

The contrast observable between the behaviour of these mock Princes in power, and out of it, shows the degradation of the Greek character in a most glaring light. Ostentatious pride, empty vanity, contemptuous insolence, acts of tyranny and oppression attend their prosperity; deposed, you see them dejected, pliant, base, grovelling, even to most abject

servility. I have known them carried before the Stamboul Effendi for debt, and deny their own handwriting.

They are seldom deposed without exile or imprisonment, and being stripped of a large sum; but when they throw forth more of their ill-gotten wealth into Turkish bosoms, they appear again at large, and often remount the throne.

Whatever arts and sciences, whatever virtues might have been found in ancient times, among the Greek republicans, seem to have been obscured, or totally lost, under their Emperors. The present Greeks have not a trace of them remaining. Their ancient language, or the literal Greek, as they call it, is a dead letter; those who understand it have learned it at school.

The art of healing, so necessary to the human species, so much cultivated, and so highly honoured in ancient Greece, seems to be considered among the present race no farther than as one of the fairest means of introducing themselves to the favour of Turks in power, and a species of traffic, by which they may, with the greatest probability, expect to promote their fortunes. The best of them are strangers, I fear, as much to the integrity as to the ability of their great countryman, Hippocrates.

Among the many pretenders to physic at Constantinople, are some few of the Greeks, who have studied at Padua with tolerable success; but the greater

[redacted] OF THE CRIMEA.

[redacted] the first principles of [redacted] them taken no other [redacted] on them by the mere fiat [redacted] physician to the Sultan. [redacted] fee; it authorises them [redacted] qualified, they think them- [redacted] with the lives and purses of [redacted] patients. Shops are the diploma [redacted] drugs, good or bad, must [redacted] with impudence, for the Turks are [redacted] giving fees except to physicians under [redacted] and who have no shops; [redacted] are bestowed very sparingly.

[redacted] of some note, finding himself in [redacted] unable to retreat into the country [redacted] his wits to work how to pro- [redacted] fertile in resources on such occa- [redacted] high rank and great opulence had [redacted] happened just at that time to have [redacted] occasioned by the eruption of a [redacted] working on paternal tenderness [redacted] persuaded the father it was the plague,

cure it, for that was extremely difficult to be found, and excessively dear. The father pressed, entreated, conjured that he would obtain one at any rate. The physician, feigning great anxiety and perplexity where and how to find it, left him with seeming despair of success. He returned, as if he had found one miraculously, though he had it in his pocket beforehand. He had purchased it for ten shillings, but demanded of the Turk twenty-five pounds as the lowest price, which was paid him. The cure succeeded, and the physician retired into the country, boasting of his great abilities, which had supplied his immediate necessity by such an ingenious and, as he thought, laudable expedient.

Any common servant to a physician of tolerable reputation, after a few years' service, were it only in beating at the mortar, or even in carrying about drugs, thinks himself sufficiently skilled in the medical art to stand on his own bottom, and kill by diploma. I have known a quack of great eminence and practice much favoured by a Vizir, yet this doctor could not write.

The Armenians, with apparent stupidity in their countenance and demeanour, are yet, as to all animal wants, as subtle and designing a people as the Greeks. They are reckoned the best grooms in Turkey, and by the care they take of a horse seem to have something in their nature congenial with that animal. One of

them, who had served for many years in that capacity, advanced his station by being admitted as a menial servant to a private gentleman. His master fell into a decline, and though long attended by an able physician, died. After his death, the Armenian, disdaining servitude, set up as a physician.

He was observed one day going to visit a Turk of great distinction, attended by several servants, and treated with uncommon respect. The question being asked who he was, it was answered an eminent Armenian physician. Some time after a person who knew him, expostulated with him on his insolence and temerity, and asked him where and by what means he could fancy he had learned physic,—how he dared to expose his own life, which would be forfeited the first time a Turk fell a victim to his ignorance?

He answered that he had sufficiently learned that art from the physician who had formerly attended his master, and who, he was certain, administered medicines with great caution; that, as he had observed his master in most disorders occasioned by cold had made use of warm punch, of which the doctor also usually partook, he had for that reason conceived a high opinion of it, and tried it on himself with success, and, therefore, he limited his prescriptions to that medium only; and as it was extremely agreeable and palatable to the great men who employed him, and generally successful, he was amply rewarded for it.

The city of Constantinople absolutely swarms with such wretches, or rather, indeed, worse. They have, it is thought, increased within these forty years to above a thousand.

Though the modern Greeks are almost strangers to the virtues, or to all the arts and learning of the ancients, they have surprisingly retained their levity. Without the least knowledge of Homer, Anacreon, or Theocritus, they abound in poetry, such as it is, love songs, ballads, and pastorals; they are incessantly singing and dancing.

They have carefully preserved the Cretan lyre and Pan's pipes, *septem imparibus calamis*, and also the pipe of the Arcadian shepherds. They still use the ancient long dance, led by one person, either with women alone, or intermixed with men and women, called by pre-eminence the Romaika, or Greek dance. They have also the manly Pyrrhic dance, and those most infamous love dances, accompanied by the *Ionici motus*, offensive to all modesty and decency.

THE RELIGION OF THE GREEKS.

BEFORE I dismiss the Greeks, I shall take some notice of the state of religion among them, and bring forward a few facts to illustrate what I advance.

The name of Christian, which they profess with great constancy, under the oppression of Turkish government, has induced us to commiserate their sufferings; while their abhorrence of Popery, and the unremitting hate with which they are persecuted by the Romanists, have recommended them to Protestants of every denomination, and persuaded us that their religion has a respectable share of purity, both in its doctrine and practice.

About the time of the Reformation, and more especially in the reign of James I, even those inclined to Puritanism entertained a favourable opinion of the Greek church. Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Con-

stantinople, had almost persuaded Archbishop Abbot that his doctrines did not differ from perfect Calvinism. The Patriarch meant no more by this than to obtain the favour of the English Court, and the protection of their Ambassadors at Constantinople, supposing it the most probable method of securing himself against the violent persecution raised against him by the ministers of the Roman Catholic Powers, who at that time, with the most assiduous activity, and at a prodigious expense, in support of their own missionaries, attempted the subversion of the Greek church; but it must be acknowledged that he gave a very false account of his religion.

It is with great reluctance that I repeat the melancholy truth, but it is the truth, that the Greeks, like some other sects of Christians, have entirely neglected to cultivate the practice of true religion. They seem to have forgotten those real, and, perhaps, only conditions on which mortals can render themselves acceptable to the Deity — that purity of manners, brotherly love, forgiveness of injuries, justice in our dealings, and those other Christian duties everywhere inculcated in the Gospel of Christ; while the name of religion is solely appropriated to the firm belief in certain mysteries, and the regular practice of external acts of humiliation and worship, with a strict observance of many austere fasts and mortifications, which at best can be only intended as the means of facilitating our approach to Christian perfection.

Hence it is that the Greeks seem to look upon the eternal laws of social and moral virtue as the shadow only, and the arbitrary injunctions of their church as the very essence of Christianity; and they think to compound for the total neglect of the former by a rigid observance of the latter; so that a Greek of the most depraved manners would suffer almost anything than break a religious fast. The Armenians, indeed, surpass them in the number and austerity of these fasts, and in the strictness of their abstinence.

Although the love of money is not less predominant with the Greeks than with the Turks, yet their purses are ever open for the support of the ecclesiastical dignity, the building and decoration of the churches, and the maintenance of their claims to the exclusive possession of the Holy Places in Palestine, against the Romanists, who make the same pretension.

At the accession of Sultan Mustapha, their present sovereign, the Greek churches were in a ruinous condition: one of them had been almost entirely burnt down; and the Muhammadan law does not permit new churches to be erected, and even extensive repairs are prohibited. On the birth of the Sultan's first child, the Vizir suggested to him what kind of favours he should confer on his different subjects during the ten days appointed for the celebration of that great event, so important to the peace of the empire. Amongst others he mentioned, as a most

acceptable indulgence to the Greeks, a permission to repair that church which the fire had almost destroyed : he dared not ask leave to rebuild it, though there was scarce a wall standing.

The Sultan condescended to grant them the ten days for these repairs. No sooner was this known than every Greek mason's labourer quitted all his other work, and flew to contribute his assistance to the church ; two or three thousand men continually relieved each other. The whole was accomplished, and the church rebuilt in less time than was allowed for the repairs, and that without any one disbursing a sixpence. The only reward the workmen received for their indefatigable labour was conscious merit, and the priest's blessing. Let this suffice for an instance of their zeal.

I could wish to throw a veil over the scandalous contentions which have been carried on between the Greeks and Romanists on account of Bethlehem and the Holy Land, as it is called ; the iniquitous proceedings attending them are so enormous as shamefully to disgrace the Christian name. The ambassador who protects the interest of the Romish religion becomes, on these occasions, notwithstanding his high dignity, a real object of compassion.

Immense sums are raised in all the countries of the Romish persuasion to support them against the Greeks in their pretensions to a spot of ground which they fancy sacred, and to preserve in the hands of

Popish priests and monks the remains of an old stable at Bethlehem, where a chapel is built, and in which, on the authority of an ancient oral tradition, they suppose Christ was born; and also a sepulchre, which may be, but probably is not, His tomb, as they call it: the situations of both places being, at present, as unknown as that of Julius Cæsar's urn.

Why the princes of Christendom will suffer their countries to be despoiled of so much wealth, and permit it to be paid on this account, as a tribute into the hands of the Turks, is hardly conceivable: and why no angel has flown, or swum across the sea with this sepulchre or this manger, as with the house at Loretto, is yet a greater wonder. Princes, it should seem, still permit this tribute to be paid to the Turks, because they thought it best to leave this business as they found it; and, not choosing to meddle with what are called religious matters, suffer the clergy to go on with the same practices as prevailed in the times of the darkest ignorance, and the most extravagant superstition. At present few or no pilgrims of the Romish persuasion resort to these places of devotion, so that the most probable reason to be assigned for the attachment of their clergy to the possession of them is, that it occasions much money to pass through their hands, and affords a maintenance for about a hundred and sixty idle monks and friars who are distributed about that country.

In the contest between the Greeks and Romanists

for the right of possessing the chapel at Bethlehem, and the stable, treasures have been expended by both parties, to the great emolument of the Turks, who take care from time to time to encourage the disputes, giving sentence sometimes in favour of the one, and sometimes of the other. Under Rajib Pacha's government it was finally determined in favour of the Greeks, at an expense, equivalent to, at least, 10,000*l.* sterling. The holy sepulchre has been, and still is, as great an object of contention between them, and a prodigious annual expense to both.

But what is worse, the Turks, knowing the riches and obstinacy of the contending parties, find numberless other pretexts to pillage their wealth. The caravan for Mecca passes near Jerusalem. When it approaches that holy city, the Emir Hadji either enters in person, or sends a message to demand a loan from a Greek and Romish convent: or, perhaps, on some pretence of right, to exact a sum of money, 20 or 30,000 pounds from each party: and they dare not refuse. If it be a loan, it is never repaid; if on a pretence of right, but ever so groundless, the sum is irrecoverably lost and heard of no more.

The Greeks behave with much prudence on these occasions: they stifle their complaints, bear the loss and immediately replenish the fund, that they may again be in a position to combat the Pachas and the Romanists: they would even sell their children,

rather than permit the latter to triumph over them.

The Ambassador, whose peculiar charge it is to protect the Romanists, wears out his very soul in fruitless application at the Porte, to recover the sum of which his convent has been stripped. With much difficulty he may obtain the Sultan's command in his favour, that is, an order for its re-imbursement, but it procures him no money: and, what is more vexatious, he is frequently imposed on by the misrepresentations and downright falsehoods of these priests and monks established in Palestine, who are perpetually pestering him with slanderous accusations against the Greeks. He is officially bound to support them, and, after suffering in his credit at the Turkish Court, by the mortifications he is obliged to endure, when these falsehoods are detected: he is reviled at Rome by the whole body of clergy, as a lukewarm Christian and an unskilful politician.

The Greek system of religious opinions and their mode of worship, are pretty generally known. They agree with the Romanists in the main points of the doctrine of the corporeal presence, their veneration for Saints, and the adoration they pay to the Virgin Mary. In their image-worship they differ: they honour paintings, but allow no sculpture. The procession of the Holy Ghost is another, and most important article of disunion: they hold it is from the

Father only. They scoff at the Pope's pretensions to infallibility, and at his claim to be supreme Head of the universal Christian Church. Their clergy give no previous dispensation for the omission of any religious duty, but reserve the absolution of all transgressions and sins till they are committed.

Absurd and superstitious practices abound among them, and frequent abuses happen, the natural concomitants of uninformed credulity, not peculiar to the Greeks alone: one of a singular nature was carried on a few years ago by a Caloyero or monk. He had some years before been noted for an irregular and profligate life, and had been in the gallies at Constantinople. On being released, he affected an extraordinary degree of sanctity, and enthusiastic fits of devotion. If he did not lay claim to the highest gifts of miraculous powers, he at least pretended to have celestial communications, and to be endowed with the peculiar grace of ensuring to women in years, happiness in the world to come: and to young and middle-aged females the happiness of this world in the shape of a numerous progeny. Barrenness is regarded in Turkey as a curse: women who bear no children are hardly treated with common civility. The hope of becoming mothers, it may of course be imagined, led shoals of unhappy females to the new saint, the privileged dispenser of fecundity.

He established himself at Katereie, a village in

Asia, to which you pass by water in a few hours from Constantinople: his emissaries were dispersed throughout all the neighbourhood, and wherever they went, spread the fame of his sanctity, and his marvellous gifts. Devotees flocked to him: it was calculated that eight thousand women, of various ages, went to him in a short time, to participate in such a desirable grace. The Saint was a stout man, of middle age, and never failed to send away his female votaries perfectly edified.

Some men at length visited him and seemingly approved of his proceedings: not that they really believed in his pretensions to sanctity, but because they would not, by publishing their suspicions, cast the least shadow of injury on the character of the sex. They wished the sterility of their wives removed, but they apprehended the means might be disagreeable to themselves. The journey was pleasant, the passage by water convenient, and other adventures might co-operate with the Saint's spiritual endeavours. Hints of this were given to the Turks, who soon made the impostor decamp. He was not heard of afterwards. He did not, however, quit his vocation empty-handed: for the condition of approaching him was the purchase of a consecrated wax-taper, besides a free gift: in both which articles religious zeal and the desire of becoming mothers, had engaged the good women to pay most generously.

The Greek religion, however, I am told, is better supported, and maintained with greater purity, on its primitive foundation in other countries, where it is professed, undisturbed by Mahomedans or Romanists. Nor would I be thought to mean that there are no self-denying Metropolitans, and other honest men even among those in Turkey.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

THE following are the documents alluded to in the introductory memoir of Sir James Porter.

I.

Account of a Visit to Count Zinzendorff's Moravian Settlement. Present, Professor Wetztein, John Vanrizan and James Porter, on the 30th of December, 1736 N. S. At a conversation with Count Zinzendorff, the famous founder of a Sect in Lusatia, formed into a colony or republic called Herrnhut, situated about twenty miles from Leipzig, I had from his own lips the following account of his principles.

"1st. That God, on originally creating man, formed him according to His own image, which, in his sense, signifies a perfect representation of the thing

represented: that he constituted him, spirit, soul, and body, which he called a Trinity in man. The soul serving for a vehicle to the spirit, as the body does to the soul. That God, giving an order to Adam not to eat of the fruit of the tree of Life, and his disobeying, he died that day, that is, lost that spirit which informed his soul, and remained, as it were, a confused mass until, by Regeneration, he revived or rose again to his former state, at which time the spirit re-took his place, which follows only and always in a state of regeneration (according to the Count). Before regeneration the Devil imprints his marks on the mind, but after it, God imprints His on the heart. He likewise remarked that the death he mentioned in Adam was spiritual and, as it were, in his senses, for he lived nine hundred years after.

"Continuing what he thought on regeneration: he told us that regenerate men were dispersed in the world and are called the *Invisible* Church of Christ, but the persons collected in his (the Count's) colony form the *Visible* Church. That such a Church is, and must be, in a state to partake of the same privileges, advantages, and gifts, enjoyed by the Primitive Church in the time of the Apostles.

"I asked him if he had examples in fact to prove this assertion? He gave us several in general, as the sudden diseases and disorders attending some who came with an intent to laugh and scoff at his people; more particularly he related the following story of

two women, cured of cancers (or, as he called it, Gangrene) who had recourse to prayer, after applications from every aid in physic and chirurgery.

"One of his colony, who practised surgery, was by one of their supernatural calls obliged to go to the island of St Thomas, where they have several brethren, some of whom were languishing under an ill state of health. Upon this, he and the physicians acquainted the two women, who were their patients, that the brethren of St Thomas, being ill and in want of a surgeon, the call came on this surgeon to go, which obliged him to leave them, though he would not proceed on his journey without their consent; at the same time advising them of the great danger of their state, adding withal, that they believed them out of the power of human skill—and thought recourse to prayer the best method of cure, insomuch that Christ promises that whosoever *asks* shall receive The women came into this opinion, threw off their plasters, prayed with fervour and Faith, and have continued well three years.

"The second instance given to us by the Count, was of a young lady of a noble family named Hemphorff, who had been confined nine years to her bed, without the power of moving her hand, foot, or neck, the muscles being either entirely relaxed or attenuated, and dried, which is a paralytic state. After continuing so long in such a deplorable condition, the physicians told her that, as everything in art and nature

had failed, she should essay the force and energy of prayer, and quoting the eleventh chapter of Hebrews on Faith, they suggested many reasons to persuade her, which at first she thought vain, but was at length convinced. She complied with what they urged, and prayed a whole night. In the morning, her brother came into the room, she gave him her hand, rose with alacrity from her bed, walked well, and continues so to this day.

"Besides these cases, the Count mentioned one of a person, whom it was necessary to excommunicate out of the society—yet on repentance and re-admission was cured. He added that the brethren did not attempt to work miracles in trifles, but in things of consequence: as for himself, he did none, for they were performed by his first physician, Christstein.

"As to the gift of tongues, he told us an instance now existing at Amsterdam. His Elder's wife, a Moravian who spoke not even German, and not a word of low Dutch, on being in company with the natives, spoke in that language, low Dutch, four hours unceasingly, and was understood; but when asked a question in common conversation when at home, understood not a word, without an interpreter was present.

"He told us likewise that his Secretary, of whose philosophical spirit and little credulity he was convinced, went to Sweden. He found himself under difficulties at Stockholm, and was greatly bewildered

and distressed: but recollecting the promise of Christ, he took courage, and speaking whatever sounds occurred, was understood and perfectly comprehended all that was said to him by others. The most remarkable circumstance in this story was, that when he came where there was an interpreter and attempted to speak, or to understand what was said, he could do neither. This he discovered, as there came into the company by chance an interpreter, who was a regenerate man, for those have a knowledge of the spirits.

"The next instance related, was of a carpenter, named Nitchman, who, in the space of sixteen weeks, learned the negro jargon in St Thomas, and has been in England, where he made himself understood. Nay, this man is so extraordinarily gifted that even the winds obey him; he makes incredible passages to St Thomas, when he thinks it necessary to go there. Jablonsky, Bishop of the Moravian and Bohemian Brethren at Berlin, has constituted this man a bishop. He understands no learned languages.

"The Count, after giving us these cases, to prove what he had advanced with regard to the privileges of his colony, returned to the detail of his belief. He told us, secondly, that Jesus Christ died for all men, and made a full atonement for their sins, and that they all remained in a state of favour. That, by the death of Jesus Christ, the souls of infants are accumulated to Him, which also is the reason that more

children die than other people. Thirdly, he said that there is a bad principle, called the Devil, who rivals with and is equal in power to God; that he constantly endeavours to deprive God of souls, in order to be as great as He is, but the equilibrium is destroyed by the choice the souls make in going to God or to the Devil, who is co-existent with God; for though it might be objected that the bad principle is not eternal, the Count boldly answers—nor with regard to us, is the good so.

"In this establishment, the women are separated from the men, that is, the unmarried women; and, according to the rule of their society, the unmarried men have no right to approach a married woman. They marry by lot, in which they have great faith, so much so, that Zinzendorff himself told me that a coachman casting a lot was married to the daughter of a Baron, a young lady of an ancient family, for the man casts the lot for the woman, and asks her consent afterwards. They believe that these lots reveal the will of Heaven.

"The Count said, that, in general, many brethren had a direct revelation from Heaven, and particularly mentioned his own daughter having frequent revelations from Jesus Christ; that she wrote letters to Him and sent them up into Heaven (I conclude in the same manner that boys send messages up to paper kites), for he added that these letters were wafted away by the wind and never more seen, but in

the evening she had distinct answers, known only to herself, as they were revealed in a peculiar manner.

"The Herrnhüter are distributed into eighty-six bands or societies, in which they preach. Converted or non-converted (as they are called) are admitted of any opinion, provided they are honest and virtuous men. The Count has an hospital and an orphan school with one hundred and sixty patients; he termed it *un Hospice.* Zinzendorff professed a great veneration for the great Bale, whose work, and the New Testament, in Greek, by Wetztein, made up his library. Yet he intended a new version of the New Testament, no doubt gloriously absurd.

"He told me he received no person into his colony who brought anything with them; that he received highway robbers, bandits, rogues of all descriptions, men of bad lives, in hope of reclaiming them, 'for,' he added, 'if I keep them from doing evil for even so short a time, I am, in so much, useful to the cause of nature.' It was one of his tenets that, instead of lamenting the death of a loved friend, or relation, he and his followers rejoiced and were exceeding glad.

"That in the order to effect conversions given to his Missionaries for their Brethren in Greenland, St Thomas, Georgia, and other parts, they were to preach those glad tidings, and of that peace which came into the world, of which the inhabitants were ignorant, and that, by the death of Christ, all men should be saved."

II.

Letter from Lady Porter to her sister, Mdlle de Hochepied, at Pera, containing an account of Sir James Porter's journey from Constantinople to London, with two children, Greek nurse and servant, and accompanied by several gentlemen;— among others, the learned Jesuit, Father Bosowitz, who has published a detail of this journey.

My dear sister,

On the 24th May, 1762, we departed from Pera; after travelling three hours, we arrived at Davut Pacha, where we found two tents, and a very good dinner prepared for us. After having rested the horses and drivers two hours, we resumed our journey to Ponte Piccolo. Here we parted from most of those friends, English and Dutch, the chief persons of both mercantile establishments, who, some from respect to my husband, and most, I hope, from affection to us both, had accompanied us thus far. These kind friends returned to Pera, and I felt much when they left us. Arrived at Ponte Piccolo, we entered a

most miserable hut or shed, small and dismal. What added to our forlorn state, our baggage waggons (arabas) had delayed on the road. We remained till eleven at night without a chair or table, or any of the furniture with which we travel, but what was still worse, without food. Supplies, however, arrived, though late.

The next morning we strolled to see the bridge which gives its name to the town, and is rather handsome. At two o'clock we went to Ponte Grande. Notwithstanding a tempestuous wind, we arrived there at six in the evening. We were tolerably lodged, and we passed the time in forming a party of quadrille, or rather made it an excuse for talking over our adventures and laughing at our caravan. The next day three more of our friends left us, Messrs B—, P—, and S—, which affected us very much. After this sad farewell we again entered our carriage, and in ten hours reached Silivné. We passed the famous bridge, which is really a fine one, and the road is good. Being on the sea-side, the drive was very agreeable; on the shore are two villages, one named Cambourga, the other Bongados, both very miserable places. We dined at Bongados. At five, afternoon, we arrived at Silivné, where we were lodged *dans le gans*, that is, in two very bad rooms, in neither of which Mr H. Grenville could have stood upright. The town, however, is large, and appeared a pretty town *for the country it is in.*

We left it the next day, Thursday, for Chorla; we travelled over a most beautiful plain, covered with flowers, and I can assure you, my dear sister, I never formed more brilliant and beautiful bouquets. I even wreathed some on my head-dress, for, though wild, they were delightful. We arrived at Chorla at five P.M., and were very well lodged. It is a large village, or rather a small town, in a charming situation. We left it the next day at noon for Calistran; we had fair weather and a very good road, but the whole through a flat plain or valley. We arrived at three in the afternoon, and, as we were informed that there was plague in the village, we encamped on an extremely pretty situation, without any communication with the village. You would have laughed could you have seen us, the nurse, Catarina, and Cali the Greek servant, all in one tent. We had previously supped in my brother's tent, and our smaller tent or pavilion lodged our good Dr M'Kenzie and our *amiable* ecclesiastic. The latter, Father Boscowitz, gave us a perfect comedy from the agitation he was in, and the trouble he took in placing his bed and all his comforts in the best possible order our situations would admit, and as he often had the ill luck of having his baggage placed on the arabas, these were sometimes delayed; then his fidget and distress amused us much. My brother and Mr Huypsch slept in our carriage, and all the waggons were placed round this rude encampment; we were really like a troop of gipsies.

We left this station for Bourgas, where we arrived on Saturday at two o'clock in the afternoon. Here again we found the plague; we therefore did not remain in the village, which, with all the country round it, formed a pretty landscape, but again pitched our tents in a meadow on the banks of a rivulet, which in one part was formed into a cascade: the murmuring sounds from this rendered the whole a very pleasing scene, which we left the next day (Sunday) for Kerklesi, which we reached at two P.M. As it is a large town, I thought we should have been well lodged after passing two nights under tents, but instead of this we found a wretched Bulgarian house with two partitions called rooms, and were obliged again to encamp, which, as it poured with a heavy rain, I cannot say was *pleasant*. In short, my dear sister, to abridge this narrative of our daily journeyings, which might become tedious, I will only tell you generally that through Turkey we passed without any accident, and on the whole agreeably, sometimes well, sometimes very ill accommodated.

We arrived, June 23rd, at Galatz, a poor village in Moldavia, though the Moldavians call it a town. We were, however, received with a sort of pomp, and they lodged us very tolerably at a convent dedicated to the Virgin. Five days after this we reached Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, in which the streets are formed of boards instead of being paved, nor does it meet Greek vanity in the magnificence of its buildings.

We were lodged in what was called a pleasure house, belonging to the Prince; it was out of the town: as to his Highness, we left him to his own grandeur, not caring for the honour, or rather the trouble, of seeing him. From thence, on the 13th July, we came to Salichick, in the territory of Poland, where we were received with every possible distinction, and I passed three days there, well amused and pleased. The town has only been built eight years, and belongs to the Castellan of Cracow. There are all sorts of trades carried on here. We were lodged in the town house (Hôtel de Ville). Here Father Boscowitz and Dr M'Kenzie left us: I parted from the first with indifference, but to part with my excellent medical friend sensibly affected me.

On the 25th of the same month, we arrived at Leopold, an old town, but rather handsome. It is generally believed that Poland is a comfortless country to travel in, but we have not found this, except, perhaps, after we passed Cracow, and this lasted only two days; but I must explain the cause of our being so well off, we have always gone through the dominions either of the Castellan of Cracow, or of Prince Czartorinski. The latter was unremitting in his attentions and civility; we saw him at Leopold, where we dined with him. He seems an amiable young nobleman; he is one of the most powerful of the Polish nobles, and has some very fine palaces on his extensive estates. We could not be better re-

ceived than we were in these, as they were rendered stages in our journey. Generally, when I alighted from the carriage, I found the hall of entrance filled with minor nobles, dependants, or vassals of the Prince—these well-dressed in the becoming Polish costume. As they advanced towards me, they bent on one knee, drawing my garments to their lips or foreheads, kissed it, and offered wishes for my prosperity. Among them, I occasionally discovered some with the *plica*, a complaint of the country. One symptom, I believe, is blood oozing from the root of the hair. The hair being left to its extreme length—it being considered dangerous to cut it—is twisted round and round, till it forms a large knot at the top of the head, and I have heard, ultimately drops off.

At Leopold, I made acquaintance with several Polish ladies of distinction, who immediately came to see me, and were most attentive and civil. I saw whatever was pointed out as curious; some of the churches are fine; I was in two convents of nuns, which seemed fine establishments. You will be surprised when I add that there were very tolerable concerts every day while I was at Leopold, executed by no contemptible musicians; you know my love of music, and may conceive how I was delighted with this unexpected treat.

We arrived at Cracow on the 6th of August. We left Mr Huypsch at Leopold, as he had suffered from

fever, but had recovered; we parted from him with regret, for he is a good and amiable young man. Cracow is a good town, but not populous, I should say, appears very ill-inhabited, especially now, when most of the principal persons are at their country residences. I cannot, therefore, say much in praise of my stay here. Poland is a very excellent corn country, and the superior cultivation in parts, renders it like a fine garden. I must, before I leave Poland, tell you, that though, as I have mentioned, we were lodged in the castles, or even palaces of the principal noblemen, and treated with the most scrupulous attention, allowing for the difference of our habits of life—houses filled with attendants, regular dinners, fine wines, and profusion of lights—we could not prevail upon any person to accept a remuneration. In most houses there were only the servants, who had received notice of our arrival; from the seneschal, or major-domo, to the lowest servant there was a respectful refusal, and in one instance, we were told it was offending the duty they owed to their lord to make them such an offer. The hand was placed on the breast, the head bowed down, and we were made to understand that their reward was our approbation, for we were their lord's friends. Indeed they seem to me a noble people.

But to return to our route—on the 14th of August we entered Silesia, where we immediately perceived that all was war around and about us, to that degree,

that on our road from Tarnowitz to Breslau, we distinctly heard every report of the cannon during the affair of the 16th, in which the Prussians had the advantage. Every day we heard the bombs that were thrown against Sweidnitz. You will say I have become very courageous in my travels, as I never felt easy if I heard a gun go off.

Breslau, where we remained eight days, is a handsome, large town, though the sad vestiges of war appear there. I spent my time there very agreeably, from the polite attentions of Sir Andrew Mitchell, our minister. We intended leaving Breslau the ninth day for Berlin, but an unexpected accident kept us to the tenth; part of our carriage broke down as we left the town, and we stayed to have it repaired. You must, I think, wish to know what could keep us nine days in this town, which really was a scene of war, but my husband found himself too near the King of Prussia, who was only a few miles off, at the siege of Sweidnitz, not to make some attempt to see him. In this he did not succeed, the King being entirely occupied in the siege, the negociations took time and delayed us. At length, however, on the tenth day, at nine o'clock, forenoon, we departed, and arrived that night, after having dined at Auras, at Wohlau, passing by villages burnt and in ruins, destroyed by the Russians.

Wohlau is a sort of town more than a village; here we were tolerably accommodated; we left Wohlau on

the 26th, in very bad weather, encountering execrable roads, entirely of deep sand, and thus it is everywhere in Brandenburg, rendering travelling very irksome. Getting on very slowly, we were sometimes four hours creeping out one mile of the country, longer, I believe, than English or French miles, still dreadfully tedious, and this with eight horses to our travelling carriage. I often fancied myself in the deserts of Arabia; as far as your sight can carry you, nothing is seen but these sandy plains and pine trees, or fir woods, dark and dismal, and which, to my mind, form the most gloomy groups and shade. To return to my tedious progress: from the 26th we went on eight hours without stopping, and reached Reuben, where we intended to dine and change horses, but there we were obliged to pass the night, as it was impossible to reach Glogau, which was our intention. But what was most distressing, there was not the most wretched habitation to be found where we could be lodged, in the village, which had been almost entirely burnt and destroyed, a very short time before we arrived, by the enemy. From this sad event there were at least eight families in one house, though to judge by the external appearance of these houses, it was difficult to conceive how even one family could be stowed in such an habitation. Thus circumstanced, we were in the street, or rather a desolate road; we must have remained in our carriage for the night, and made the best of our situation, but fortu-

nately we were told by some of the country people, that there was a Seigneur and a Château close to the village, where we might expect hospitality ; we sent there, and the Seigneur du Château granted our request in the most benevolent manner, received us as travellers with every possible attention, and, when he learned who we were, with respect and distinction. Thus after expecting a wretched night, especially for the children, we had a very good one, good beds, and kind treatment.

After many compliments on both sides, assurances of satisfaction from our host, and of gratitude from ourselves, we went from thence at ten o'clock, and arrived in four hours at Gros Glogau, which is a fortress and a pretty town. We stopped on our arrival at an inn, but the President Cocqsée, whose brother we had known at Breslau, offered us accommodation at his house. This we accepted, but could not be comfortable ; notwithstanding the kindness with which he urged us to remain there till the following day, we continued our route. After passing by Neustädtel and Trystädtel, two small towns, we arrived at Grünberg, and were there in much the same difficulty as at Reuben. My husband, however, went himself to seek for a house, and at length found one which the Commandant occupied when there were troops in the town. Here we could put up our beds, and were tolerably comfortable for one night.

The 29th we arrived, at five in the afternoon, at

Crossen, a tolerable town, where we were well lodged, and left it the following day for Frankfort-on-the-Oder, through a frightful sandy road; notwithstanding, we got there before night. It seems a handsome, agreeable commercial town, but I could see little of it, for we set out at seven, and, after having dined at Jacobsdorf, we arrived at six in the evening at Tachendorf, and fared tolerably at the post-house. The 1st of September we arrived at two o'clock in the afternoon at Berlin, which appeared to me the most superb and handsome town in Europe. It is pitiable, however, that it is not better peopled. We were there four days, which I spent very agreeably. We received much attention from the Count and Countess Vinguesten, the Commandant, and from Mr Verelst. The Count and Countess directly invited us to dinner, receiving me most attentively. The next day the Countess took me to see the town and the park adjoining, which forms an agreeable promenade for the inhabitants. The Commandant also accompanied us himself everywhere, to point out what was most worthy our notice, a fine collection of pictures belonging to the King, the porcelain manufactory, &c.

The Dutch envoy, Mr Verelst, gave us a sumptuous supper, and paid us three visits. He is considered here an elegant young man, but he does not please me. He is a Parisian *petit maitre* more than anything else. *On dit*, that he spends a ducat per day in perfumes; you may judge of this personage by

this trait. I thought the ladies at Berlin almost all handsome and well made, but painted, and seeming to me as if they knew how to make the most of their charms. Coquetry and gallantry are, I understand, carried on here very far.

After receiving the utmost attention and civility, we proceeded after dinner on the 5th to Potsdam, where we arrived in two hours, and had lodgings in the house of one of the *Conseillers du Roi.* Here we were very well accommodated, except the expense, for we were made to pay to the utmost possible charge for the honour of having slept under the roof of a man of the importance he assumed.

The next morning we went to see the King's palace, which we found fully worth the trouble. It is large, and the apartments kingly, with rich furniture, and apparently in good taste. But you would have been as much surprised as we were, had you seen in the King's rooms, and even in his bed-chamber, all the chairs, the canopies, and his very bed, which are all of a sort of silver tissue, all torn, stained, and ruined by his great sporting dogs. We were assured that there were some who were in the habit of tearing off all the bed coverings.

We saw also there a prodigious quantity of Dresden china, plundered from poor Saxony! From hence we went to Sans Souci, which is only a quarter of an hour's drive from Potsdam. It really is, of the kind, a very pretty place, though unfurnished: the gardens

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..., both ancient and modern:
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... Berlin that her Court, instead of
...ented, was actually in want of the

common comforts, and sometimes even of the necessaries of life. This made her wish to receive strangers as seldom as possible. We, therefore, played the incognito, as Mr. and Mrs. Kirkland, for, as the English Ambassador, we must have seen the Queen whether we liked it or not. We, therefore, went our way at seven the next morning, and left the territories of the King of Prussia at Helmstadt, which belongs to the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel. Here we arrived at four o'clock, had tea, changed horses, and continued our route to Königslutter, where we were near spending the night on straw, our baggage waggons, with our beds, &c., being delayed by sticking at times in deep mud; at others, creeping over the very stony roads. We were, however, relieved from our alarm by the late arrival of our goods. We set out at day-break, and got to Brunswick by one the next day, where, by the kind attentions of Colonel Clavering, we found excellent lodgings. He and his lady, a charming woman, were there as British Envoy to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who was at that time at Brunswick.

When we alighted from the carriage, we received a message from Colonel Clavering to dine at his house, which we most willingly accepted. In the evening we went to the German play, which, certainly, is not much worth the trouble, but the Ducal Family were there. The Duke came into our box, as also the Landgrave. The first seemed remarkably easy and

affable—he chatted with me and Lady D. Clavering for some time. The Landgrave, though extremely polite, did not, I own, please me. After the play we supped where we had dined, with an increase of company in some gentlemen of the Court. On the following day I was presented at Court by Lady D. Clavering. She came to me in the morning most humbly to aid me in my toilette, as I hardly knew how I should appear at an European Court. I was received with a civility much beyond my expectation: the Duc and Duchesse kept me to dinner, and had the goodness to tell me that I should have no other table whilst I remained at Brunswick. Next to me sat Prince William, the Duke's third son; he is seventeen, and seems an amiable youth. After dinner we went to see the young Princesses at their private apartments; one is sixteen, the other thirteen. They are both very pretty, with remarkably kind and gentle manners. We found them taking their dancing lessons. As soon as we came in they asked Lady D. Clavering and myself to dance a *Minuet à quatre* with them, which we did. After we had rested there a short time, they proposed our walking in the garden, which is a tolerably pleasant one. We accompanied them, and the Duke joined us there, and after remaining in the garden till it was almost dark, we went up to the apartments of the Duchesse, where card parties were formed. My husband had his with the Duchesse, the Duke's sister, and the Hanoverian

Minister: mine with another sister of the Duchesse, his eldest daughter, and Lady D. Clavering. The game they play is *la Cométe*.

The next day, Sunday, the 12th of September, was the birthday of the Duchesse's grand-aunt. The Court was in *gala* dresses. We dined and supped at Court; we also went on that day to visit the Duke's two sisters—old single ladies. After dinner we visited the old aunt, who is really a most venerable lady. On that day was celebrated the eightieth anniversary. The Duchesse, who is excessively inquisitive, with much curiosity asked me endless questions concerning Turkey. She had found out—I cannot tell how—that I had with me a Greek dress, and she entreated me earnestly to put it on that she might see it. This I complied with the next day, and went at eleven o'clock, forenoon, with my little girl Nancy, dressed as a girl of the Island of Tino. I was taken up a back staircase which led to the Duchesse's private apartments, that we might not be molested by the crowd which gathered to see us. The Duke, the Ducal Princes, and Princesses, all assembled to the sight. They all admired my dress, and I had to undergo compliments, and repeated thanks for the trouble I had taken. I went away under the escort of the young Prince William to my carriage; I dined with Lady D. Clavering and my husband at the Landgrave's. In the evening we went to the play, then supped at Court, to take leave. The next

day we gave entirely to the kind Claverings, whom I left with much regret.

On the following day, the 15th, we set off for Hanover. Brunswick seemed to me a large, but old town. I thought parts were not unpleasing: the fortifications, which are handsome, have the merit of being well kept up. We arrived rather late at Hanover: we were decently lodged, but the town did not please me: it is old and dirty, but *per contrà* I was really much pleased with the people, who overwhelmed us with attentions during our stay there of three days. The President, Münchausen, came to see us the moment we arrived, and to invite us to dinner—which we accepted, and found a party assembled to meet us. Privy Councillor de Bouche, and his very amiable wife (my dear father knew him at Vienna, when he was Hanoverian Ambassador) both inquired most particularly concerning him, and begged me to present their respects, which I now do. There was a very large company assembled—in the evening, fifteen tables, all of whist. I played at *Try* (I suppose Tredrille) with Madame Bouche and Baron Swichell, at whose house we dined on the following day, and after dinner, accompanied by Baron and Baroness de Bouche, we went to see the Gardens of Herrenhausen, where there is a fountain which they tell me is one of the finest in Europe. It certainly was to me very striking, and threw up the water to a prodigious height. We returned and passed the

evening where we had dined. The following day we spent very agreeably at Madame de Bouche's.

The next day we left Hanover at noon and slept at Hagenburg, a wretched village, where we, however, found tolerable accommodation. We did not fare as well at our next resting-place, Diepenau, where appearances were more favourable, but, in fact, all was worse. However, the rooms we occupied were tolerable, but our baggage was, or had been, overturned, from the breaking of a wheel. Thus neither baggage nor beds arrived, and those we occupied were, I must say, execrable by way of any attempt of sleeping tolerably in them. The next morning at eight o'clock, we went off and dined at Bomte, a village completely Westphalian : you see, smell, hear, and eat only hogs. After changing our horses, we proceeded to Osnabrück, where we passed the night very comfortably at a good inn. It is a large and pleasing town.

We dined at Ibbenbühren, by courtesy termed a town, and belonging to the King of Prussia. There was fortunately a fair, and consequently a gay scene, which concealed much very disgusting in this place. A more squalid, dirty, gloomy one could hardly be fancied. We arrived by a wretched road, as bad as the one we had gone through the preceding day, at Rheine, a village not any better than Ibbenühren. We, however, passed the night tolerably, but we should have been much embarrassed as to the con-

tinuation of our journey, had not the scene there lately changed, for by mere chance there was a body of Prussian troops in this place, or I know not what we could have done. The French were very near, and, only two days before we arrived, marauding over the whole country, but the Prussians had swept them away, and there was a body of Hanoverians at Bentheim, a town a few miles off.

These circumstances securing safety on the roads, we proceeded without any apprehension on the following day, changing horses at Bentheim. We actually dined in my own dear country, Holland, at a place named Pope. The landlord of the inn immediately recognised me for a Dutch woman, by my language. He asked us numberless questions, and amused us from a remarkable simplicity of manner. We slept at Delten, a small town, but very pleasing and clean. I thought myself in Paradise, so happy was I to find myself in Holland—the cleanliness of everything around delighted me, and I was the more struck with this, for having gone through so many months in a state of perfect contrast.

We went thence to Deventer, the capital of Overyssel, a large, handsome town, but very ancient. The observation seems trifling, but here I again tasted fish, dressed in the true Dutch fashion, and felt that I was in my own country. The next day we went to Amersfort, arriving there about seven in the evening. Our postilions took us to the Post-

house, a most dirty, wretched hole. My brother went into the town and found us a good inn, but the landlord and his wife made us feel the change of country. The woman, particularly, would not let us leave the house, enumerating kings and princes who had lodged in it, and saying we should not stir till we had indemnified her for the loss of the good name of her house. Finding we could not subdue her furious attack, we asked her what would indemnify her, and two florins effecting this important end, we paid them and left her, to move to the other inn, where we were received with much politeness, but found a most intolerably chattering landlord.

The next day at noon we arrived at Utrecht: here I immediately inquired for M. Vanvort: he was at his country house and only came into town on Sundays. I sent there, and they luckily happened to be in town. All came to see me, and expressed much delight in the meeting. The old lady, whom I remembered, is much broken: Vanvort's wife is indeed, as we were told, *eene moye Meydt* (a pretty girl); but he is a stiff Dutchman. They invited us to tea, and kept us to supper. I was pleased then, and after dinner more family friends appeared, M. and Madame de Roosemaillen, who were most friendly and kind.

Notwithstanding our intention of going the next day to the Hague, we were obliged to put off our departure to Tuesday, 28th September, from their pressing us with so much earnestness to dine with

them. On Monday morning, M. Roosemaillen accompanied me to the silk mills, worked by water, at Van Moulin's, which appeared to me, who had no idea of such a process, very curious, and the gardens around the manufactory are very pretty, especially some grottoes.

After dinner we went to the Botanic Gardens, which are of a good size, and in which are many rare plants. We supped where we dined, being received with extreme kindness by Roosemaillen. He has five daughters, who seemed pleasing. We were much gratified by our stay in Utrecht, and embarked in a handsome yacht on Tuesday. We arrived at eight o'clock in the evening at the Hague. M. Vangoort was waiting for us with two carriages: he seems a most kind, obliging man. He took us to *le Parliament d'Angleterre,* where he had retained apartments for us. On the following day my husband waited on Sir Joseph Yorke, and almost immediately afterwards, I may say a moment hardly elapsed, when the visit was returned, and with an invitation to dine with him on the following day. Soon afterwards I received visits from the Baroness de Boutzelaer, and many other ladies of the nobility.

On Thursday, we were most graciously received at the Ambassador's; there were the foreign Ministers of Sardinia, Portugal, and Prussia—all of these agreeable persons, but the master of the house surpassed them all, and, indeed, my dear sister, I think few can altogether be superior to him. In the even-

ing we went to an assembly at the Baroness Boutzelaer's, where there was a large company of both sexes, among others, Baron de Ryschagt, who inquired very much after my father, and M. d'Ablyn, who pretended, as many others have likewise done, to recollect me from my likeness to my mother. He asked me an infinity of questions concerning you all. Whist is the fashionable game here, but, as I cannot play it, a party was made for me at Tredrille, with the Spanish Minister, the Marquis del Puenti Fuerti. He has married Baron de Ryschagt's daughter, a pleasing woman: and the Comte de Masé, who is with the young Prince.

On Friday, we dined with Duke Louis of Brunswick, with whom and the Prince Stadtholder my husband had been the preceding day. There was a very large company of ladies and gentlemen: a *to me* splendid dinner, and the Duke distinguished us by his attentions. In the evening we went to an assembly at Madame Hynewoort's, and on the following day went to Haarlem; we went to our cousin-german, de Willem, on her repeated invitations, and were received in the kindest manner, and I must own, my dear sister, that I felt a real satisfaction to find myself in the place of my birth.

At my cousin's, we found M. and Madame Vansannen, who dined there. In the evening, visits from others. On Sunday we dined at the country house of M. van Volkenberg. Our cousin is much changed,

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October, we left Haarlem, after having received the most affectionate testimonies of remembrance and friendship from every one, and most particularly from my cousin de Willem. We breakfasted at Lepinenburg at M. Testart's, where we had a most elegant collation. We went on to the Hague, and dined with those worthy and excellent persons, Councellor de Hoogstradt and his wife.

On Thursday, 7th October, we dined with the younger Mons. Vandermeden, who, as well as his father and sisters, have during our stay in Holland really shown us very uncommon attentions. The son has accompanied us everywhere in seeing whatever was remarkable, such as the Court, the Prince of Orange's Cabinet, the House in the Wood, &c. The next day we had a very agreeable party at Sir J. Yorke's country house, which is about half an hour's drive from the town. Here we had no form or ceremony, and every one endeavoured to be pleased and enjoy the society, which was a chosen set of friends. We supped there on the Sunday.

The next morning I was presented to the young Prince, who received me most graciously. He is a Prince of whom much is expected. He led me to the upper end of the room. When I left him he kissed each of my cheeks, and accompanied me to the head of the stairs. I am the first lady distinguished by being thus received. He seemed rather abashed when he was put to address me. I thought it was a

step I could venture to take, from the attachment of my family to the illustrious House he represents, and that I had by that means an opportunity of recommending my brother to him.

We dined with the President Vandermeden: only a family party. In the evening I went to the French play in Sir J. Yorke's box. The play was Voltaire's '*Mahomet, ou le Fanatisme*,' which was not very well acted. After the play most there went to an assembly at Madlle Wyrenaut's, where we supped. The next evening again to the play, we had Moliére's 'Misanthrope,' and then the same rendezvous or assembly. The following day we dined at the Duke of Brunswick's with a good and large company; among others the Prince of Weilburg, and the Prince of Strelitz, brother to the Queen of England. I had the honour of being placed between them. The Prince of Mecklenburg seemed very sensible considering his age, only fourteen. The Prince of Weilburg is in his person very pleasing. After dinner I went with the Baroness Boutzelaer to pay my respects to the Princess, who was only just returned from Loo. There was a crowd of people there. She received me very affably, and her manners are very gracious. She is rather pretty, but too large for her age.

From thence we went to an assembly at Madame de Cleuse, wife to the Danish Envoy, where we supped, and where the Princes above-named were. The next day we dined at the Prince of Weilburg's,

and they placed me next to the Princess. In the evening, assembly at the Baroness Boutzelaer's. The Friday we dined at Sir Joseph Yorke's. French play, evening assembly repeated as usual at Madame de B.'s, and thus the ball rolls on.

The next day at nine o'clock, 14th October, "*Pleurez, mes yeux—fondez vous en eau!*" we left this charming place for Rotterdam. We were in a yacht. We arrived at noon, and found the Bayten yacht waiting for us, which was procured by Mons. de Roon. We only passed from one to the other vessel, and then set sail for Helvoetsluys, which we reached at eight that evening, and we passed again, without setting a foot upon ground, into the packet-boat. Oh! what a difference between the yacht and the packet! The first clean and neat, with every possible convenience; the other smelling of pitch, and the cabin dirty, small, and gloomy. Then my brother, who had accompanied us thus far, left us, and this separation caused me many—many tears. He returned to the Hague in the yacht.

At eleven in the forenoon, we set sail with a favourable wind, and made the passage in twenty-two hours, not without extreme sickness, even the children were ill. We disembarked at Harwich, a bad town, where we merely stopped to breakfast, as we had not eaten for twenty-four hours, we had been so ill. We went to Colchester, where we slept, and I can assure you, after our fatigue, extremely well. Colchester

seemed a good old town, which we left the next day at seven in the morning, and arrived at eight o'clock that night in London—returning thanks to God for having allowed us to arrive so happily at the end of such a long journey, all in perfect health.

Copy of a letter written by H.R.H. Prince Charles of Lorraine, to Sir James Porter, on the latter resigning his post at Brussels.

MONSIEUR,

J'ai bien reconnu mon ami de Porter, aux sentimens, que vous m'avés deployés dans tout le contenu de la lettre, que vous m'avés fait le plaisir de m'ecrire le IV. du mois dernier, et qui m'a été exactement remise par le Chef et President, Comte de Neny. Il n'y a sans donte, qu'une amitié aussi sincere, et telle, que vous m'avés toujours temoignée, qui puisse excuser tout le bien, qu'elle vous a engagé à dire de moi. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de me la conserver, et dê'tre persuadé du cas particulier, que j'en fais, de même que de la constante et parfaite justice, que je rendrai toujours à mon tour aux qualités superieures, qui vous ont merité à si juste titre la confiance et l'approbation de votre cour, l'estime et les éloges de toutes celles, où vous avés été employé pendant le long et penible Cours de Votre Ministère.

J'ài éte bien touché du motif qui m'a privé si long-

tems des vos nouvelles. Ce sont assurement des coups de la Providence auxquels il faut se soumettre, quoiqu'il nous en coute. Je me trouve moi-même dans le cas d'en faire actuellement une experience assés facheuse par une incommodité à la jambe, qui, après m'avoir obligé de garder le lit pendant six semaines, m'empêche encore de marcher. Cela commence, cependant, à aller beaucoup mieux, et je compte dans peu d'être entièrement remis sur pied.

Je vous fais mon compliment d'avoir reussi à obtenir votre retraite après les longs et importans services, que vous avés rendus à votre Patrie; vous pouviés, ce semble, vous attendre à toutes les marques de bienveillance, et de bontés, dont vous me dites avoir été comblé de la part de S. M. le Roy, votre Maitre. Le veritable interêt, que je prendrai toujours à ce qui vous regarde, me fait desirer, que vous jouissiez longtems de la douceur du repos, qu'on vous a accordé et que vous vous rapelliés de tems en tems le souvenir d'un ami, qui de son coté, saisira avec empressement toutes les occasions, qui le mettront à même de vous convaincre de la consideration inalterable, et trés distingueé, avec laquelle je suis

Monsieur,

Votre très affectionné,

CHARLES DE LORRAINE.

Bruxelles, le ii. Decembre, 1766.

III.

Letters from Allan, Lord Bathurst, to Sir James Porter.

Dear Sir,

I received yours this morning, and could not write to you till I heard you were arrived safe to your journey's end. I was full of anxiety till I was certified of that. Now I must return my thanks for your kind visit; I could hardly expect that two such great men should give themselves such great trouble, and should undergo such great fatigue, and run such great dangers, all for the sake of the most inconsiderable creature living. But God be thanked you are both got safe and sound to your respective habitations. I hope nothing will deter you from pursuing your design of coming in September, in order to go to Bath, that is a reasonable project; your health is to be attended to. I have an incurable distemper (83), but I palliate it as well as I can, and your company always tends greatly to alleviate the pains.

... give."

... youth vex't by love a...

... ...ssions by the way,
... ...e scurvy play,"

... ...ying that peace and tra...
... came of age, I relish ...

... ...e age of man is threesco...
... was so unfortunate that I di...
... ...enty-five, but since that tim...
... ...nt and discreet.

... under my care at Bath, fo...
... for a young man as you are...
... in you some propensity t...
... to women; I must steer yo...
... us rocks—those are your Scill...
... place. The provisions are s...
... that I must take particular car...

is the sincere wish of one who loves and esteems you with the most sincere affection and respect, and will always be,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

BATHURST.

Cirencester,
27th August, 1767.

I long to know from you, whether the Russian fleet will go into the Mediterranean. I wish it may, *pour la rareté du fait.* If Monsieur Poushkin comes here again, which I shall be glad of, for I love him and Madame, I suppose Lord Cathcart will return, and then, in all probability, our friend Des Vismes will be pressed into the service, which I shall be very sorry for, unless it is made very advantageous to him,—indeed I esteem him much.

But there is another matter we are alarmed at; by our newspapers the Empress Queen is to give a part of Flanders in dowry with her daughter, &c. The Dutch are in no small consternation about it, and we shall be drawn in to fight over again all the Duke of Marlboro's battles, perhaps not with the same success. Pray comfort me on this head. Is it necessary that we should have a foreign, in order to avoid a civil, war? No, no! I laugh at all their silly petitions; when the Parliament meets, the argument can't be supported a minute, they have no ground to stand upon.

We are informed that the Duke of Queensberry has entertained Paoli, if so, Sir James Porter has certainly made one of the party. I beg to know his opinion of that famous gentleman.

If you can find out, or imagine, anything I can inform you of, or entertain you with from hence, you shall certainly have an immediate answer from

Your faithful and obedient servant,

1769. BATHURST.

DEAR SIR,

I had the satisfaction this morning of receiving your obliging letter, and a great one it was to me to be informed that you got safe to the end of your journey. I should have been excessively concerned, if any mischief had happened to you, in consequence of the great good you have done to all here. You spread good humour wherever you come, and mankind is susceptible of no greater good. We already feel the loss of you, the grass loses its verdure, and the trees pine and droop.

It begins to grow dark, and I doubt whether I shall be able to send any more, but I must own I am pleased that our friend, Mr Scott, sees matters in a new light. I have long been of opinion that an epidemical, contagious distemper has got among the people; what remedy is to be applied, I will not pretend to say, but change of

Ministers may probably do much more harm than good.

When any event happens I depend on you or my friend Mr Scott to give me notice of it. Though I have done with the world, I have still a concern for my family, my friends, and my country. I think if there is any wise and spirited management, matters may be set right, and we may not be governed by the mob any longer.

Adieu. I can't see what I write: it is of very little consequence whether you can read it, for I hope you are convinced that I am your faithful and obedient servant,

BATHURST.

31st August, 1769.
Cirencester.

[The Mr Scott alluded to in the last letter was Mr G. L. Scott, who, under Andrew Stone, had been sub-preceptor to George III. He was a person of uncommon acquirements, excellent temper, and possessed a most agreeable manner of conveying information. In person he was heavy, but full of kindness and hilarity. He was one of the most intimate guests at Ham, and though the friend of Bolingbroke and Mallet, and the free-thinkers of that age, and participating, as was understood, in their opinions, he had—during the nine years he remained at Kew with the Princess Dowager as tutor, and in the retirement in which she kept him as companion to her son—sufficient wariness and discretion never to let his private opinions be brought forward, or in the slightest degree to bias the mind of his pupil.]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

The Emperor Charles the Sixth died the 20th of October, 1740, which suspended my commercial negotiation, the Court of Vienna aghast looking round them in amaze, without an army, without finance; the former ruined by an unsuccessful war with the Turks, the latter, exhausted by the same cause, did not know which way to turn, nor what party to take, in case, as they foresaw and had early

reasons to apprehend, that the validity of the Pragmatic Sanction should be contested.

They knew that Bavaria had always supported a claim to the Austrian succession, founded on the will of Ferdinand the First, and they had long tampered with the Court of France to engage them to support that claim. Cardinal Fleury, whose system was pacific, gave them but wavering hope, and yet never effectually discouraged them; he thought it the interest of France to weaken, or rather demolish the power of the House of Austria, and yet he dreaded the means; he feared the maritime powers, although he laid much stress on the part they had acted in the former war of 1734, when, contrary to common sense and sound policy, they suffered that house to be dismantled of Naples and Sicily, and France to be aggrandized by the most important acquisition of Lorrain.

As falsehoods once propagated must be supported by others till they are finally detected, so one capital error in politics is followed by thousands, and these accumulate till they are perceived too late; hence, therefore, have the maritime powers been led into a series of difficulties, and this kingdom into two successive, most burthensome wars; if it was to save a few millions at that time, we have since felt that we have expended above a hundred; or if the fear of a rebellion, we had better have risked it at once, for as our apprehensions then, I suppose, were founded

on the knowledge of our situation, we might therefore easily at home have provided against all events whilst we took a part, like a great nation, in supporting our solemn faith and our allies; which, if we had done, the rebellion in 1745 would never have happened, Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain had been saved, Spain would not have dared to have insulted us in 1739, nor would a war have ever happened with France for the Austrian succession. Much less would they have risked usurping our possessions in America, or ventured to have roused a determined, formidable enemy.

This conduct in us, and the supposed inability and timid disposition of the Dutch, undoubtedly encouraged France to be more enterprising; it gave a pretence to the Cardinal's counsellors to urge him to act, although he should break through his solemn guarantee of the pragmatic sanction.

The King of Prussia, who, by an understanding with Bavaria, knew the dispositions of France, and, encouraged by them, rather than by the Court of Versailles, determined to seize the opportunity and to be beforehand with them, by raising an obsolete claim a thousand times extinct to four Duchies in Silesia. He thought no time was to be lost, but began by amusing the Court of Vienna with professions of friendship, whilst his troops, consisting of about 30,000 men, were advancing hastily towards these countries.

The Court of Vienna was unprovided in that part with the means of resistance; General Browne assembled, with some difficulty, about five thousand men, and chicaned with the Prussians during their march through the mountains. The whole almost of the remains of the Austrian army lay in quarters in Hungary and Transylvania; the nearer corps, as they pretended, were so weakened and ill provided that they thought it not prudent to make them take the field, and as their best regiments were the most remote, they lost a considerable time in bringing them up from the distant parts of Temeswar and Transylvania.

This pretence. and such conduct in urgent moments, made many doubt that some persons in their Council of War acted on perfidious motives, but it should rather be presumed it was ignorance, or indeed a prevalent prejudice, which had strangely obtained amongst them, that a Prussian army would not fight, that it was not inured to fire, and composed of forced men, who would soon desert. However, about the beginning of May, they formed an army in Upper Silesia of about 13,000 men; the command was given to Count Neiperg, and General Browne acted under him.

The Prussians marched towards the Oder to cover Breslau; Neiperg was not informed that they were so near in his way towards that town as Malonitz; so that on the moment he had ordered the Austrian

army to refresh themselves and to dine, he was alarmed with the advice, and they were then obliged to form under the Prussian fire, with the only resource left them to attack, or to be attacked. In consequence of this surprise, hasty dispositions were made; General Roemer, who commanded the horse, a brave and experienced officer, could not support a constant discharge of the Prussian artillery, which destroyed great numbers of his men; he resolved, therefore, to attack the whole army, and, with three regiments of horse, he broke through their formidable Prussian infantry three times, and lost his life in the action. When the Austrians formed, they pressed the Prussians close; the King, startled at some disorder among his troops, concluded the battle lost, and withdrew at about one of the clock, on an English horse; he reached Ohlau, where he did not know that there was an Austrian party of hussars; he attempted to enter the town, and he discovered his danger so late, that if Bannaio, who commanded there, had opened his gates, he had been taken prisoner; he got off, however, with the loss of Frederichaltz, his valet de chambre, and his philosopher, Malpertius.

Schwerin, or rather Prince Leopold D'Anhalt in his absence, recovered the affairs, and in the end kept his position, and worsted the Austrians.

The King, either in doubt of the event of the war, or dismayed at his first military essay, some time after dispatched a Baron Golter, who had formerly re-

sided at Vienna, with propositions of peace; he ordered him not to enter the town, but to retire to Baden, about ten or twelve miles from thence, and to send his proposals in writing to the Austrian Ministers. These proposals, whether serious or to gain time, were much suspected; however, they carried with them an appearance of sincerity: he professed great friendship to the House of Austria, and offered to extinguish all his demands for the Principality of Glogau, to take it in hypothetic mortgage, and to pay them two millions of florins, that such a cession might appear a mere mortgage, and therefore not to be understood as an infringement of the pragmatic sanction; to this offer he engaged to give an aid and assistance of 10,000 men, against all or any of their enemies, who should attempt to prejudice the succession of Charles the Sixth against that treaty.

The Court of Vienna formed many conjectures on this proposal; they doubted of his sincerity, and imagined that if they gave way in any one point, they might be charged by other pretenders to the succession, as having the first infringed the pragmatic sanction; they would not at this time be convinced that Cardinal Fleury would venture to support the Bavarian claim, notwithstanding many almost undoubted informations of the contrary. To justify their own tenaciousness of opinion, they produced letters from Mons. D'Amelot and the Cardinal, giving them in appearance the strongest assurances of

the King of France's pacific disposition, expressing also his Most Christian Majesty's esteem, regard, and affection for the Queen, but they constantly overlooked, or would not understand, the reserve these letters contained, "unless his Majesty should be forced," which sentence was so artfully connected, as to bear an equivocal interpretation, as if they meant forced by the Queen of Hungary's conduct towards him, though the sentence likewise carried the meaning, that that force might arise from the necessity he might be under to assist the Bavarian: in examining one of them critically, I pressed Baron Bartenstein on the latter sense, showed him that the words as they stood evidently meant it, and that if he trusted to the sincerity of equivocal meanings, compared with the information we daily received of their hostile intentions, he would find he risked to be greatly deceived.

I conjured him with the strongest supplications, to meet the King of Prussia at least half way in the negotiation with Golter, not to break it off, but to keep up at least the appearance of a negotiation, that messengers going to the King of Prussia, or coming from him, might keep France and Bavaria in suspense, at all events to use him in a friendly and polite manner, and to throw aside all ill-conceived passion and prejudice; that as a young heir fallen into vast power and fortune, he was dazzled with his own force and riches, but that perhaps he reflected, after his first

military essay, that he threw a dye on the fortune of war, or that he was playing too high a game, and doubted that in the end he might be deprived of both.

My remonstrances, however, nor all Mr Robinson could add, were of no effect; an answer was given rather in terms of reproach, resting on the Queen's tenderness of conscience, her religious and moral obligation to keep the pragmatic sanction and all her estates entire; offering his Prussian Majesty two millions of florins for his aid of 10,000 men, and her inviolable friendship. He rejected this proposal with indignation and contempt, recalled Golter, and from that time uniting closer with the views of Bavaria, and consequently of France, he waited events in Silesia, and the motions of France and Bavaria, taking in the mean time good positions with his army, and rather determined on a defensive than an offensive campaign.

The Court of Great Britain was fully informed of the designs of some of the most considerable Powers of Europe to raise their pretensions on the Austrian succession; they were certain the French would be forced by Bavaria to take a part, that Spain had their eye on Italy, and were doubtful of the Court of Saxony; on these considerations they pressed an accommodation with Prussia, and to gain him at all rates.

Perhaps this conduct was a worse error in us than

that of 1734. In great moments great and vigorous resolutions are necessary; and it was thought by wise, experienced men, that if we and the Dutch had resolutely moved to support the House of Austria against the sudden invasion of the King of Prussia, he would have finished at once on easy terms, and the Cardinal Fleury, from his apprehension of a general war, would have deterred him from acting.

The sudden change in our Court, at an interval only of two days from the representations and resolutions to act jointly with the States-General, and Lord Hyndford's instructions for a negotiation, arose from some advices, as appeared by their despatches to Vienna, of the intentions of France, and the dispositions she was making to support the Elector of Bavaria. Seized with this apprehension, they renewed their exhortations to the Court of Vienna to satisfy the King of Prussia, and added the King's commands to Mr Robinson, that if he found at any time a prospect of any method which the Court of Vienna should propose to adjust matters with that Prince, he should set out himself, and carry such proposals to him, and endeavour to bring him into a confederacy against France.

The Court of Vienna began to see their danger, and seemed disposed, at the King's request, to comply with his desire. Mr Robinson had given them a memorial, containing every consideration the King had suggested to urge them to compliance, in answer

to which he received a paper conceived in such terms as might convince the King of Prussia of their sincerity, and how far they could go to fulfil the King of Great Britain's request, and satisfy his Prussian Majesty. They said, that as to the Principality of Glogau, which his Prussian Majesty had demanded, it was not only of too great a value, but of too great an importance to part with; but as it might answer his end more effectually to aggrandise himself on the side of the Netherlands, contiguous almost to what he held in Gueldre and Cleves, they would seek out in those parts what might be the most convenient to him, and add a like sum he had proposed giving them of two millions of florins for the 10,000 men he had offered.

This paper was sent to Lord Hyndford to make such use of as he thought might be conducive to begin a negotiation: he read it to the King, who listened with attention, but on a sudden he broke out against the Court of Vienna in a fit of anger and volley of oaths. Lord Hyndford patiently waited till the paroxysm was over, and his passion subsided: the King then resumed the matter of the paper; asked calmly what equivalent they would give him in the Netherlands? Whether they meant all Brabant and Flanders? and smiled. This turn brought on some further discourse, which Lord Hyndford did not mention in his despatch; but, however, his Lordship concluded upon the whole that the King seemed so

extremely well pleased with the proposal that he apprehended he would sink all his demands on the Duchies of Wohlau, Schweidnitz, Liegnitz, and Tawer, for an equivalent in the Netherlands.

This letter of Lord Hyndford's, of the 21st June, 1741, Mr Robinson read to the Queen, Grand Duke, and to all their Ministers; he desired at the same time to know what they would give his Prussian Majesty specifically in the Netherlands. The Grand Duke and the Ministers saw no difficulty in specifying, but there were many days' deliberation necessary to bring her Majesty to any resolution; she strongly pleaded conscience, partly having sworn to the pragmatic sanction, but chiefly—as the Chancellor of Bohemia, Count Kinsky, told me, and as Baron Bartenstein seemed to confirm—because her religion and conscience would not permit her to subject so many Catholic souls to the sole will of an heretic, or rather of an infidel; she therefore limited all her concessions merely to Austrian Gueldre and the two millions of florins, which all her Ministers were convinced was insufficient, and Mr Robinson refused to transmit such an offer.

The old Ministers daily perceived that there was no time to lose in adjusting with the King of Prussia; they said the torrent was expanding, the water would at length get into their mouths, and they should all drown; they therefore pressed and persuaded the Queen to add the whole Duchy of Limburg; she

agreed to that with great difficulty, and only on the express condition that it should only be offered in the last extremity, and urgently required it should be reserved to the last.

After this matter was settled, Mr Robinson was in doubt what party to take, whether to send the proposals to Lord Hyndford by a messenger, or whether to carry them himself according to his instructions; we consulted together, and though we were both clear that by the hope the King of Prussia must have from Bavaria and France, of a formidable diversion in his favour, he would never give up his pretensions on so trifling an equivalent; yet as he, Mr Robinson, thought his instructions took in a greater object; that it would be a means of keeping up the appearance of a negotiation, and be the more agreeable to the King our master; he seemed disposed to venture, at all events, to undertake the journey. I was of a different opinion, and fully convinced that the proposal would be treated by his Prussian Majesty with indignation; that if he returned *re infectâ* it might expose the King our master's honour, and if he should bring unreasonable demands to the Court of Vienna, I apprehended, in their present temper and under their present despair, they might lose all confidence in him, and that perhaps they would choose to come to an agreement with Bavaria; that if any such demands came from Lord Hyndford, we might see with what temper and disposition the Austrians

received them, and he might keep himself on the reserve to undertake the journey with more acceptable proposals and in the last extremity only.

The Court of Vienna had no confidence in Lord Hyndford, and they seemed rather willing Mr Robinson should undertake the negotiation, though they did not press him. After various debates between us to remove all doubts, he resolved to be the carrier himself of the Court of Vienna's offer to the King of Prussia.

Although I was accredited to the Court of Vienna in general terms as Minister from the King, I received no instructions relative to this negotiation; however, Mr Robinson insisted I should undertake the journey with him. I resisted as much as my friendship towards him would permit, and indeed I did not relish being mixed, without the King's order, in an ungrateful commission where I foresaw I could do no good. He would, however, persuade me it was absolutely necessary I should assist for the King's service, that it would be agreeable to his Majesty and his Ministers, and more so, which I knew, to the Court of Vienna; that as I had been immersed in all these affairs as much as himself, I should be of much use to him as to all his conduct, and it would make the burthen sit easier upon his shoulders, all which he would write and take upon himself with the King our master.

In these representations he was seconded by his

most incomparable Lady, who begged, prayed, and entreated me, for her own ease and satisfaction, that I should accompany him; she pressed me on the importance of my being there, and was as positive my conduct would be approved of at home, although I had no absolute orders.

Urged by both whom I loved and valued, I resolved to go; I gave way rather to my sentiments of friendship than to my own inclination, for though two of the ministers at Vienna entreated me to be partaker in that commission, and though they made use of the most flattering expressions in the Queen's name, I had positively declined.

On this resolution two messengers were dispatched, one to the King at Hanover, the other to Breslau, and on the 31st of July, 1841, we both set out for Silesia. We found bad roads to Neiss, and from thence we were obliged to take proper precautions not to be interrupted by Austrian hussars and pandours, nor by the Prussian parties. General Neiperg had moved with the army the Tuesday before to Frankenstein, so that we found General St André who commanded in that fortress. The former commandant, Roth, had destroyed and ruined all the suburbs.

They had at Vienna exaggerated the devastations of the Prussians and the misery of the people, but to our surprise, the precautions taken by our own Generals at Neiss were the only trace of an enemy we perceived in all that country which had been the

seat of war; and at the best towns Berich, Tagendorff, and Neustadt, and even at all the villages, the inhabitants did not complain.

We proceeded the same day to Grotkau, where we met the Austrian General Lentulus, and the Prussian Prince Diederich of Anhalt, who arrived there two days before on the exchange of prisoners. The day before our arrival the Austrian prisoners were brought escorted by 100 Prussian grenadiers: no sooner were they arrived, than the Prussian officers perceived a great desertion among their men.

The town of Grotkau is circumvironed with an old wall, and the gates were regularly shut at night. The Austrian post-master of the town keeping the key, the Prussian General accused him of conniving at the desertion; we lodged in his house, and that night he brought us the key that we might be an evidence of his care. The next morning he came into our bed-chamber under the greatest anxiety, apprehending that his life was in danger, as all the Prussian grenadiers had deserted in the night and left only the officers, an under-officer or two, and the drummers. Within a mile of Grotkau on our road, we found an encampment of Austrian hussars; the Commandant came to our coach-door, and as it was late in the evening, he would not let us depart without an escort. We did not apprehend any danger at so short a distance, but he persisted without explaining himself. At less than a furlong from the camp we perceived a

great fire, and a number of Prussian grenadiers with their arms and accoutrements as bright as at a review; they were intermixed with some Austrian hussars warming themselves, and as we advanced, we met at different distances on the side of the road, sometimes at the other side of a low hedge, a hussar with a tall grenadier on his small horse, which both together seemed like pigmies covered by a giant. The fact was, that all their precautions to secure the gates were vain, as the old wall, though high, had several large holes filled only with loose bricks, which the Prussian officers discovered too late. Nor were they informed of the use of that camp of Austrian hussars so near that town.

We dined with the two Generals, and proceeded that day for Breslau. At stepping in the coach, General Lentulus's Adjutant delivered us a passport from the King of Prussia sent by Lord Hyndford.

We arrived at Breslau at ten o'clock that night, and were followed by a party of Austrian hussars to the gates of that city.

Lord Hyndford's hour was not till nine the next morning, the 4th of August, 1741; our's much earlier, which gave us time to consult on the properest method to begin an overture with Count Podewills, the King of Prussia's Secretary of State, who resided at Breslau. We agreed that Mr Robinson should raise his expectation by keeping to general ideas, founded on Lord Hyndford's despatch of the 21st of June, in

which he laid much stress on the King's seeming satisfaction of accepting an equivalent for his pretensions on the House of Austria in the Netherlands. Accordingly when he met the minister with Lord Hyndford, he opened to him on that plan, but when he mentioned the word *Netherlands* and as the King's own proposal to Lord Hyndford, Count Podewills broke out as it were with surprise, said he could not imgine how that Lord could have so grossly mistaken the King; that he was rather in jest, and that he had mentioned all the Netherlands, Flanders included, knowing that they could never be obtained; that he could so far take it on himself to assure Mr Robinson, that the King even never meant, nor had the remotest idea of taking anything in that way, or towards those parts; that he could not serve him in his negotiation with the King, with whom he had no interest, as his Majesty was only his own General, his own Minister, and his own Counsellor; that it was true that he, Count Podewills, had the character of his Secretary of State, but that he was in fact but his *premier Commis*, his first Clerk. Thence he fell into an enumeration of the King's grievances against his uncle, for having refused him a Princess of England in marriage; he told me the Princess Royal, and mentioned with much emotion that the worst grievance the King of Prussia had against his uncle the King our master, was his not protecting him and even refusing him an asylum when he quarrelled with his

father, and against the Court of Vienna concerning the biennial treaty with France relative to the death of the Palatine.

That minister took me aside before dinner at his house. I entered into some confidential discourse with him, but at once he stopped me short and asked me, "If I knew to whom I was speaking?" When I told him to Count Podewills, the King of Prussia's Secretary of State, he then replied in the language he held to Mr Robinson, and added, "not his Secretary of State but his first Clerk, who has not seen a penny of salary, nor of the King's money, for four years;" that all he could do was to transmit to the King all Mr Robinson or myself should say to him, and communicate faithfully his Majesty's answer.

After this conference with Mr Robinson and Lord Hyndford, Count Podewills dispatched a messenger to the King, who was encamped at Streelen, about six hours' journey from Breslau, to acquaint his Majesty with our arrival and Mr Robinson's desire of waiting upon him.

The next day we dined at the Hanoverian Minister's, Baron Schweikeldz, with Count Podewills and all the Foreign Ministers, nearly on the same interests. General Praetorius, the Danish Minister, a mere soldier, and who had only the mechanism of business; General Ginkell, much practice and more sagacity; and Baron Buklau, the Saxon, who had

depth of knowledge and sagacity, and boldness in politics. He told me with great spirit and confidence that at the Court of Vienna they were mad, that they did not know the first grounds of policy, that there was not a moment to hesitate, but to treat with the King of Prussia, who had neither *foy ni loy*, faith nor principle, as he treated with them: grant him all he asked, and to wait the first favourable opportunity to take it all away from him, which opportunity would infallibly happen, when they might with propriety add some good acquisition by way of interest, and thus teach him the lex talionis in politics, which would, through necessity, force him to be an honest man.

Count Podewills received the King's answer, appointing Sunday, the 6th, for our going to the camp. We arrived at Streelen at one o'clock at noon that day. Baron Schweikeldz, the Hanoverian Minister, was to have been of the party, but he declined under the pretence of sickness. He thought his absence more eligible, for though he had some important electoral dependencies in discussion with the King of Prussia, his sagacity made him easily foresee our mission would end in unsatisfactory altercation, in which he thought best not to mix, as a fit of ill-humour might risk the spoiling of his own business,—and he judged right.

We found, at our arrival at Streelen, our lodgings already assigned, and Marshal Schwerin's aid-de-

camp there to receive us, and to invite us to dinner. Count Podewills, who had set out from Breslau before us, was also at the Marshal's quarters waiting for us. The Marshal was with the King at the camp. There were at dinner about twelve officers of the State Major, who entertained each his neighbour on military matters, for, as Lord Hyndford, who knew them, told us, they could not discourse on any other.

Count Podewills went to the King immediately after dinner, and returned to us with the King's commands,—that he would see Mr Robinson and Lord Hyndford at eleven o'clock before noon the next day.

Mr Robinson, on approaching the King, presented his credentials, accompanied with the usual compliments on that occasion. The King received him politely. He then opened his proposal in general terms, that, as his Majesty had expressed an inclination to accept an equivalent for his pretensions in the Netherlands, he brought him such as might be satisfactory and important. The King directly took him up, and said he never thought of, never dreamt, never meant any such compansation, nor anything like it, but that he had asked Lord Hyndford merely whether the Court of Vienna would give him all Brabant and Flanders? well knowing they would not, which was the only answer he could give on that Lord's reading him the foolish, silly paper transmitted from that Court, and only worthy of them; that he

was so far from ever thinking of an equivalent on that side that he would ever avoid it, were it merely not to offend his good friends the Dutch, who had never offended him; nor would he ever be the first to make such an infringement on the Barrier treaty. He could not, therefore, conceive how the Court of Vienna could fall on so idle a thought, though, he confessed, the offer came with great propriety from Mr Robinson, as an Englishman, but for his part he never would give up conquests which cost him so much blood and treasure, nor abandon a people who had called on him and implored his assistance, much less would he stand accused of lightness, *legereté*, or tarnish his reign by giving up an enterprise undertaken with deliberation, carried on with resolution, and crowned with success.

Mr Robinson obviated the first point by observing that the Dutch, he was sure, would come into any guarantee on any cession relative to the Netherlands as should be agreed on; that the principal members of the Republic were already prepared, and that no objection would arise from that quarter. That the Barrier treaty would not in any sense be affected by any arrangement made in that country between his Majesty and the Queen of Hungary, as it was merely intended to secure those possessions from falling into the hands of the house of Bourbon only; that, therefore, in the dangerous and critical situation of Europe, and the victorious, unbounded ambition of the Court

of Versailles, who sought to divide and subdue its liberties, he hoped his Majesty would condescend to listen to what he was empowered to offer. "What is it then you have to offer?" replied the King.—"First, to make a tender to your Majesty of two millions of florins which you had proposed giving the Court of Vienna." "A handsome proposal, indeed," says his Majesty. "What! assuredly they think me a beggar; and what more will they give?"—"All Guelderland," replied Mr Robinson; "a country which may be of the utmost advantage to your Majesty by situation and commerce, as it commands the navigation of the Meuse." On which the King turned to Count Podewills, and asked him, "Qu'avons nous de la Gueldre?" He answered, "Presque rien, Sire." "What then, they offer me beggarly scraps and cottages for my just pretensions!"

This last reply of the King's, attended with some emotion, convinced Mr Robinson that such proposals could have no effect, which made him determine to try if the whole Duchy of Limburg would attract his attention. He threw it out to him, and desired his Majesty to consider its value and its importance; that the commerce of that country might be greatly increased, so that the revenues which exceeded 250,000 of florins might be doubled, and that his father thought the acquisition of that Duchy worth his pursuit, and had made it many years the object of

his desires. The Elector Palatine, well acquainted with its value, and the great use to which it might be converted, had offered in exchange the Duchy of Berg, and that the town of Limburg was capable of being made a most considerable fortress. The King received this additional offer with as great contempt as he had done the former. He said he was expending large sums in fortifying Glogau and Brieg, which were the only fortresses he wanted; he would seek for no other.

Mr Robinson, finding matters brought to the last extremity, determined to attempt what the mode of expostulation would operate. He therefore began with telling the King that if all method of negotiation was to cease, he greatly feared and apprehended, on some grounds, that in the last extremity the allies of the house of Austria would exert their utmost powers for its support. The seeds of passion had been operating in the King's breast on the unsatisfactory conversation he had already undergone. Count Podewills, who knew him, perceived that he artfully suppressed them from expanding, but on hearing this reflection from Mr Robinson, they burst forth with great vivacity. Interrupting him at once, and raising his finger to the side of his nose, moving it with some agitation, he said, "Ne menacez pas, Monsieur."

Mr Robinson, with great modesty, replied, "I do not threaten your Majesty; I merely intended to

mention that the very nature and situation of things, and the bands of solemn engagements must naturally produce." The King seemed to calm, and more moderately asked, "Who are then these allies?"—The other answered, "The Russians." His Majesty stopped him short again, and said:

"As to the Russians, I have taken care of them in a manner I cannot explain; as for the King of Poland, he is not in a condition to stir; and the King of England is my relation and my all (*mon tout*)—if he doth not attack me I shall not certainly attack him; if he begins, Prince Anhalt* will take care on that side. But in the end," said he, "What securities shall I have for the quiet and permanent possession of those countries they offer me?"

"The King of Great Britain, Russia, Saxony, and the States General," Mr Robinson answered, "will enter into solemn guarantees."

"Guarantees," replied the King, "are now-a-days dwindled to nothing more than waste paper. Are not France, the King of England, and almost all the other powers of Europe guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction; pray why do you not all fly to its assistance?—(Pourquoi ne volez vous pas à son secours.)"

Lord Hyndford, who had as much of the King's confidence to serve his Majesty's own purpose as his

* Prince Anhalt had an army on the frontiers of Hanover.

natural diffidence and jealousy would permit, knew perhaps, from Podewills, that his master's object was Silesia; his Lordship, therefore, ventured to throw out that possibly the King, his master, would endeavour to obtain for him the Principality of Glogau annexed to the preceding offer. This the Monarch highly rejected, and with his air of disdain and vivacity, declared that since the Court of Vienna had rejected his first proposal he totally revoked it also, and that as matters were he would have nothing less than Lower Silesia, the town of Breslau included; he then told Mr Robinson to write to Vienna his final resolution, or to carry them as such with him.

To bring the matter to a closer negotiation, and more specific, Mr Robinson desired his Majesty to suffer that the proposals he had made might be written down, and that his Minister should add his last demand. The King could not contain his passion any longer, but answered with some agitation: "I am tired of ultimatums; I have told you my ultimatum; carry it back to Vienna." "Your Majesty," replied Mr Robinson, "will have all Lower Silesia, the town of Breslau included." "Yes, I will," the King answered, "and if they postpone the giving them six weeks longer, I shall add four more Duchies."

After this peremptory declaration he stepped abruptly into the other room of his tent, as Count Podewills and Lord Hyndford agreed, to allay his agitation of mind, and to stifle his passion.

Though the King had peremptorily told Mr Robinson to carry back his last proposal to Vienna, yet, by M. Podewills' language, he would rather have wished he should remain at Breslau, and transmit them to that Court. That Minister was urgent with him to take that policy; he seemed disposed to comply; but when Mr Robinson and I consulted on the matter, I doubted whether the King of Prussia, with the great prospect before him of a potent diversion in his favour, did not mean to amuse and gain time; and whether his view might not be to wait the motions of the French, to raise his demands in proportion to the increase of danger the house of Austria would feel itself exposed to, and to come at last to a positive one, of the four other Duchies he had mentioned.

He thought with me, that as the language of our Court to that of Vienna had been rather high, and that we seemed to take the lead of their affairs somewhat in too strong a manner, and that they were not without their diffidence and jealousy of our partiality to finish with the King of Prussia at any rate, nor without their doubts whether Protestantism did not incline us towards his interest, that, therefore, in remaining at Breslau and writing, they might consider the intention, as it were, of bullying or forcing them in to ours and the King of Prussia's measures. On these considerations we resolved to return, and that the Court of Vienna should receive a personal report from Mr Robinson. The case then was for

Mr Robinson to get off of the sort of engagement he had made with M. Podewills to remain at Breslau. He sent to that Minister to fix an hour to wait upon him: but he came to him instantly with the messenger. Mr Robinson laid before him the necessity of his returning to Vienna, and the apprehensions he was under if he merely wrote of their taking a very opposite party, and rather make a more eligible sacrifice to Bavaria and France, than agree to so important a one as the King of Prussia's demands upon them; he, therefore, begged an audience of the King to take his leave.

Count Podewills went to his Majesty, who desired Mr Robinson would dine with him next day, the which he might look upon as an audience of leave. The dinner passed over without one word about business, and that next day, the 8th of August, we returned to Breslau, whither the King's vehemence and passion at the audience of Streelen, or some other private consideration unknown to us, had invited Lord Hyndford; his Lordship broke out into terms of strong resentment against his Majesty, and had much altered the language he had held concerning him on our arrival.

A messenger was ready for Mr Robinson's despatch to Hanover, who departed on the 10th of August. That morning early my servant waked me with surprise, and told me the Prussian army had entered and taken possession of Breslau. I could not per-

suade myself of the truth of this report. The King of Prussia had signed a convention of neutrality with that town, which they had no ways infringed or broken through; however, I found my servant's account verified by looking out of my window, as the Prussian horse were patrolling the streets, and a new regiment of Nassau were drawn up under arms in the market-place.

All the foreign Ministers were invited to the camp on the 9th at a military feast; ours remained under the pretence of sending off their messenger, and the Hanoverian on his former excuse of a cholic.

By the convention with the citizens, the King had liberty for all his baggage and provision waggons to pass through the town. The tenth of August, in the morning early, orders were given to all the waggons in the town to march in a line through the Dome Gate and the Nicholas Gate. A battalion of Schwerin's regiment were at the other side of the gate with two field-pieces planted at the entrance; when the draw-bridge was down they ordered the waggons to halt, and then marched into the town.

The same method was pursued at the Dome Gate, by a party of Munichau's regiment, who according to the convention were in garrison in the suburbs of the Dome: some Burghers who mounted guard at the gates, attempted to resist the soldiers, but were chastised only by a box on the ear.

We set out the 11th of August, from Breslau,

evidently against the King's intention, but as evidently satisfactory to Lord Hyndford, who could not conceal every mark of displeasure at our arrival, nor those of content at our departure; for that Lord could not help confidentially telling me, he was very sorry we were departing so soon, and in so disagreeable a manner, but that no mortal could answer for the King of Prussia's caprices. I told him nothing had happened but what we expected; we discovered it too soon on our arrival to be deceived; that Mr Robinson was not the first Minister who was lured into a negotiation under imaginary pretences, taken for real sentiments; that he had obeyed the King's instructions, and fulfilled the desire of the Court of Vienna. The proposal he made was merely intended to keep up a negotiation, and at the last to bring that Court to the King of Prussia's demands. I was exceedingly sorry to see all negotiation at an end; that the King of Prussia was too far dipped in some shape or another with Bavaria and France, so that if we had brought a pure and simple cession of Lower Silesia, Neiss included, he would equally have treated us as he had done, since by that manner he left no further room for treating with him at all.

Lord Hyndford took me short, and told me he was sure the King of Prussia had no engagements with France, and not any great ones with Bavaria, but that he would certainly make peace with Austria, if they would grant him all Lower Silesia, and that if

we would engage the Court of Vienna to that step, and send the matter to him, he would answer for the success; on which I told him, that possibly he might accept such an offer, and afterwards set himself down quietly, look on and do nothing. "No," says his Lordship, with a strong oath, "he shall come into a grand alliance, not otherwise;" but when I insisted, they either deceived him, or he deceived himself, that such an object was far remote from the King's thoughts, he repeated more forcibly his asseverations, that he knew his Majesty's intentions, and was sure he would enter into a grand alliance; that he hoped Mr Robinson would harbour no personal resentment on account of the King's ill-usage; that he had been acquainted with him at Utrecht, but had no opportunity since of cultivating it, though he knew he was a man of honour.

"No passions, no resentments, no personalities of any kind," said I, "my Lord, are to enter into the composition of the mind, when the important affairs of nations are at stake; Mr Robinson learned that doctrine early, and has adopted it as the first axiom in politics; depend upon it he feels nothing as to himself, but he suffers to feel the King's honour offended in his character; but even that will not hinder him from doing his duty."

Before our departure at six o'clock in the morning, a messenger arrived from Hanover, with despatches from Lord Harrington, and his Majesty's approbation

of Mr Robinson's going to the King of Prussia; but as that Prince's new demands varied too much from his former, mentioned to Lord Hyndford, concerning the Netherlands, the King therefore could promise himself little success from Mr Robinson's journey. His Majesty, however, recommended him and Lord Hyndford to urge every consideration possible to bring the King of Prussia to a peace; the dangerous ills to which he exposed all Europe by that war; the more dangerous designs of France; and the risk of the destruction of the Protestant cause; that therefore he would lay the King under the greatest obligation, if he would conclude a peace with Austria on reasonable terms. Lord Harrington also insinuated, the great use it would be to the King if Mr Robinson could assist Baron Schweikeldz, his Hanoverian Minister, to settle his Electoral affairs depending with his Prussian Majesty, which were, the eventual succession to East Friesland, the limits of the Electorate on the side of Brandenburgh, and to determine his Prussian Majesty to give his vote jointly with the King at the Election of an Emperor.

Though Mr Robinson was somewhat uneasy at leaving Breslau at the moment he received these instructions, the impossibility of his stay being of any real use on any part of them more than it had been on the proposals he had brought with him, and indeed the apprehensions that the Court of Vienna, under their present agitation of mind, or rather despon-

dency, and on such an exorbitant demand, which they dreaded, sent to them in writing, might in his absence throw themselves into the hands of Bavaria and France, with the former of whom we feared they had begun a negotiation, first through the Empress Amelia, and afterwards by despatching Baron Roth, as it was said to Frankfort but rather to meet the Elector—we resolved to proceed to Vienna and endeavour to obtain such concessions from them as might fully satisfy the King of Prussia, or be at least a proper foundation to render the negotiation more effectual, and with which Mr Robinson might return to Breslau with some probability of success, both as to that and the King's Electoral affairs.

We arrived at Vienna on the 13th of August, at night, and next morning went to Presburg.

The Queen, on hearing the King of Prussia's demand, became inexorable. A young mind immersed in the dignity of condition, the justice of her cause, and buoyed up by the bigoted hope of a miraculous interposition from heaven, which had, as they pretended, often saved the house of Austria from destruction, was deaf to argument, remonstrance, and exhortation; she frequently broke out into exclamations against the King's partiality to the King of Prussia, her doubts of that influence on Mr Robinson's conduct, nay her jealousy and diffidence of our bias towards him on account of Protestantism. Her ministers were not behindhand with her in their

suspicions, although they were in the utmost perturbation of mind, not knowing which way to turn, overwhelmed with apprehensions of enemies threatening them, or coming on them on all sides; they were seeking for resources, and found none: Baron Bartenstein, one of the chief, met Denant, Mr Robinson's secretary, a day or two before our arrival, and, with an agitated and bewildered mind, cried out to him, asking, why the King did not march an army to their assistance? and begged he would press him immediately, for there was no time to lose.

Notwithstanding this situation, the Queen's inflexibility, or rather obstinacy, had rendered them all as tenacious and obdurate as she was to her own and their own salvation; the Grand Duke remained passive, he could not advise the Queen to sacrifice the best jewel of her crown, though he confessed he saw the necessity; his Ministers held me the same language. With all this up-hill work, Mr Robinson did not leave them a moment without pressing solicitations. I was as ardent in the task. We found we had nothing to risk but their ill-humour, and we were determined that they should be saved, as it were, against their own will; for I had discovered that they had received their ultimatum from Bavaria, approved of by France. The Elector demanded Upper Austria, the Kingdom of Bohemia, with the Court of Vienna's assistance for the Imperial dignity of Bavaria. There was, therefore, no option remaining but to gain the

King of Prussia's friendship with a much lesser object.

Mr Robinson found he had the most weight in his remonstrances with the Grand Duke, so that we turned all our efforts that way, he mostly with Baron Titchner, his Chancellor, I, alternately with him, but chiefly with Toussaint, who had the best credit with his Highness, and indeed was the ablest of them. His Royal Highness at last agreed, underhand with Mr Robinson, that he knew but one method to advance the negotiation, which was: that he should write him, as from himself, and in his own hand, a private confidential letter, setting forth the situation of Europe, the utter inability of the maritime powers to assist with any prospect of success, if the King of Prussia remained in arms on their backs; and that he was sure, which we knew, that they could not make up matters with Bavaria but upon the terms of a much more fatal sacrifice to the House of Austria, Bohemia, Upper Austria and the Imperial Crown.

Count Kinsky, Chancellor of Bohemia, a man who had a large stake to venture, and was as inflexibly honest as he was tenaciously obstinate in his own opinions, wrapt up in his integrity, he stood as immovable from exhortation and argument as an adamantine rock against the impressions of an arrow; those of the Ministry who were disposed to be more flexible dreaded his resentment, because they all knew that his opinions of not giving up a foot of ground to Prussia in Silesia,

and his constant steadiness in supporting it, was the only source from whence the Queen had contracted that seeming determined resolution. The Grand Duke, conscious of that truth, let us know that he feared, as long as Count Kinsky stood in his way, all his efforts to gain the point would be useless: that, therefore, every means should be used to prevent him from taking so active a part at such a crisis, for he despaired ever gaining his assent; but that if we could keep him neuter, or from opposition in any shape, he did not despair of success.

I was known to be intimately connected with the Chancellor of Bohemia, and to possess a great share of his confidence and friendship, and indeed it was my constant labour with him to beat him out of those dangerous maxims he had inveterately imbibed concerning the Prussian negotiation; his prejudices were strong against the King our master, and he had gained some ground against Mr Robinson. He thought, and most of the Ministers, that his language was rather too dictatorial and overbearing for their circumstances: however, I had fresh matter to strengthen my remonstrances with the Chancellor, for as I knew all hope was lost as to their negotiation with Bavaria, I hoped to have an easier task in bringing him over to our wishes.

I took him first with our common-place arguments concerning the general salvation of Europe; next the dreadful crisis the House of Austria must be reduced

to in a short time; the views of the contending powers for their Queen's succession to leave her with the mere kingdom of Hungary; the impracticability and impossibility of the King alone being able, or even with the Dutch, to save her without obliging Prussia to lay down his arms; and lastly, I urged him on his own private interest and that of his family, who had such an immense fortune to sacrifice, that as he had lived in the utmost intimacy, and had travelled with the Elector of Bavaria, that Prince had flattered himself of his support and that of his family; but that I heard, as he found himself disappointed by his activity both in the Cabinet and at the army, where he had been himself to encourage and provide for them, he was determined he and they should fall the first victim. I wished he would point out any other possible resource than that of gaining Prussia, since it was no more the King's interest than that of his Court to aggrandize him; in short, that he personally would, probably, according to the events of the war, be crushed by the joint resentment of all the belligerent powers.

He heard me with unusual patience, for he was apt to be warm. Lifting his eyes up to heaven, he declared that no consideration on earth, beggary and destruction to him and his family, should ever make him flinch one step from that allegiance and fidelity he owed his Sovereign, he would follow her fate, be it what it might; adding, that he resolved to consider

himself from that day no longer Minister of the Conference, he would assist no more at that council, or, if he did, it should be merely to hear, but not to speak one word; in short, that they might do just as they pleased, as they thought best, unopposed by him. When this point was gained, with which I immediately acquainted Mr Robinson and Mr Toussaint, a Conference was appointed at the Primate's house. Baron Bartenstein had assured us he would agree to any terms, but desired Mr Robinson and myself to draw up in writing all that had passed between him and the King of Prussia, which Mr Robinson did very precisely, and gave it to the Chancellor, Count Zinzendorf: he modelled on that paper a plan of a convention, and on the 24th of August it was laid before the Conference for their approbation. Count Colleredo and Kinsky attended, but the latter remained passive, as he had promised me. Bartenstein did not attend on account of an indisposition.

The convention they had modelled contained nine articles, the substance of which were:—

First.—To prevent all disputes about confines, they agreed to give up to the King of Prussia that part of Lower Silesia cut off by a right line drawn from Grieffenberg marked on the map A, to Odelno on the frontiers of Poland marked with the letter B.

Second.—That the Catholic religion should be preserved, with all the rights and immunities the subject then enjoyed.

Third.—That five years should be given to all those who should choose to sell their estates to retire within that time.

Fourth.—The King of Prussia obliged himself to give his vote for the Grand Duke to be Emperor.

Fifth.—That his Prussian Majesty should immediately detach 10,000 men to join Marshal Neiperg's army.

Sixth.—That in case conquests should be made by their joint arms on any enemy, the King of Prussia should give them up to the Queen, as a compensation for this cession in Silesia.

Seventh.—That the King of Prussia might grant the King of Poland the feofs he held in Lusatia.

Eighth.—That a concert shonld be immediately formed with the King of England, Poland, the Empress of Russia, the States of Holland, and other allies, to march an army forthwith on the Rhine to preserve the liberties of the Empire.

Ninth and lastly.—That commissaries should be named to regulate a treaty of commerce.

The inanity of these proposals, immediately after what had passed with the King of Prussia, as the great disproportion they bore to his last demands, was self-evident. I therefore persisted in dissuading Mr Robinson from returning to Silesia with them, much less did I care to be of the party; but he proceeded on his former principles to keep up the negotiation to obtain at last what his Prussian Majesty had insisted

on; to this he joined his own desire of assisting the King's Hanoverian Minister in the points he had to settle; he determined therefore to be the carrier of them, and insisted again, notwithstanding my remonstrances, that I should accompany him; nay, that it would be an offence to the King our master if I did not, though I had reason to think I might have been of more use in remaining at Presburg.

In Silesia the King of Prussia and all his people looked upon us as inveterate Austrians, and gave me, by way of sarcasm, the name of Baron Knore, a man of the most profound knowledge in the affairs of the empire, and who directed all that department at Vienna.

At Presburg and Vienna we were treated as partial Prussians, biassed by principle, and particularly by the prejudices of religion, to the King of Prussia.

In this state what had we to hope for but reproach on all sides? however, these were trifling considerations, the most important one was, that our commission did not carry with it a glimmering of success.

A messenger was dispatched to Hanover with an account of all our procedure at Presburg, and of our intended departure for Silesia. We set out, accordingly, on the 26th of August, and, though the roads were bad, we arrived on the 29th, at one of the clock, at Breslau.

Lord Hyndford, the moment he saw us, determined Mr Robinson's fate: he received us with a brisk air, and at once began with an introductory compliment that the King would not see him, that his journey would be ineffectual, and was unnecessary; further discourse with his Lordship seemed useless, so that Mr Robinson only desired he might see, at least, Count Podewills as soon as possible.

Mr Robinson and Lord Hyndford went to him that evening; the former opened to that Minister the substance of his commission: that he knew what he brought was not adequate to the King's demand, but he did not doubt by remaining there he would bring them to the cession his Majesty desired of all Lower Silesia, though they seemed at Vienna to be extremely embarrassed to discover the real limits between what is generally called Upper and Lower Silesia, however, such a line must be found, and he hoped in a short time.

Count Podewills said, he saw him arrive on such a message with some uneasiness, because he could not flatter himself with the least success; that he came too late, and desired to know whether he had brought any new credentials from the King; if he had not, he doubted much whether the King, his master, would receive or see him; that he would write to his Prussian Majesty, and communicate his answer. The other then asked him—"Suppose I had brought what you call all Lower Silesia?" he said, "'En verité, celle

auroit été eblouissante." He even had reason to think that the King of Great Britain expected he had come with the whole, and that Mr Robinson's orders were not to stir from Vienna without a cession of all Lower Silesia; he saw, at that time, but one plan worth adopting, that was, to make the Elector of Bavaria Emperor, and to divide the estates of the House of Austria, which were not worth keeping together, so as to give Bavaria a sufficient portion to support his dignity, in which situation he might be of equal and better use to us than Austria, for though, as Mr Robinson had objected that he might be so strictly united to France that they might think it worth their while to attack the King of Prussia, his Prussian Majesty, jointly with Great Britain, would make up a sufficient strength to withstand them all.

After this discouraging convention, and the dull prospect of even obtaining a hearing from the King, we desired that Mr Robinson might have a private interview with Count Podewills, in which he might explain to him the cause and motives of both his journeys, and give him, at the same time, a brief extract in writing of all that had passed at Vienna, with the copy of the plan proposed by that Court, and his promise, in case he staid, to obtain all Lower Silesia in eight days.

In the mean time I was informed that Vallory, the French Minister, was greatly alarmed on Mr Robin-

son's arrival; that he went immediately to the camp; and Tarony let me know that he had overheard a conference between the French and Bavarian Secretaries, expressing their apprehensions of the success of our negotiation. These circumstances determined to persuade us that the King would never receive Mr Robinson.

Friday, the 1st of September, early, a messenger came from Count Podewills to Mr Robinson, that he would be with him at ten of the clock. We waited for the compliments, and were not deceived. That Minister immediately told Mr Robinson that as he had not brought new credentials, and that he had reason to believe that his orders from the King, his master, were not to depart from Vienna without all Lower Silesia, and since his former credentials had been already answered, the King, his master, could not with propriety nor even suffer his Ministers to treat with him; that the plan he brought with him was captious, insidious, dishonourable, and dangerous, merely calculated to remove the war from the Queen's countries into his own, and to take a thorn out of her side to stick it the deeper in his; but as he had already Lower Silesia by right of conquest, he was determined to keep it. That the King was surprised how he, Mr Robinson, could come again into such a proposal, since he knew the King, his master, had a Minister, Lord Hyndford, in whom his Prussian Majesty had the greatest confidence, he could equally

have communicated that proposal, or any other the Court of Vienna should make, without the trouble of his coming; the King advised him, if he would have the friendship which did and should subsist between the two Kings continue, to return to Vienna immediately; that he, Count Podewills, was very sorry to be obliged to speak to him so plainly, but he could not help telling him, very openly and frankly, that the King, his master, thought him too strong an Austrian, and too firmly attached to the interest of that house, trembling on its foundation, and not worth supporting.

On this discourse Mr Robinson pressed him to know peremptorily whether it was the King of Prussia's meaning to send him away as the King's Minister, conscious that as to his personal behaviour he had not transgressed beyond the bounds of decency and personal respect, nor gone further than became his commission. He came a second time in consequence of his first instructions founded on his former credentials, that as to him they were not revoked, for he had received a full approval of his first attempt, and he was equally certain of the King, his master's, sentiments as to this second, for he knew them fully by a despatch of so late a date as the 12th of August, conformable to which he was acting. He read him the whole despatch, containing chiefly remonstrances he and Lord Hyndford should make to the King of Prussia on the general situation and great danger he

exposed all Europe, exhorting to a peace, but by no means a general pacification.

Count Podewills changed his language, and said that it was not the King's intention to send him away abruptly, but to desire him in a friendly way to depart; that he was extremely concerned to see the present situation of affairs, which was fatally owing to the monstrous obstinacy of the Queen of Hungary —she alone had brought them to this dangerous crisis, and he was no less concerned that the King, his master's, unhappy turn, which led him too often to take personal prejudices too rashly and too soon; that no mortal had any influence with him; but yet he hoped things would change, and that they should meet again in May.

These gloomy appearances, and by Podewill's dropping that they might meet again in the month of May, plainly indicated that the King of Prussia's intentions were to wait the progress of the French and Bavarians, and to risk another campaign. Baron Schweikeldz, the Hanoverian Minister, gave me farther lights to make us press our departure; he had made no progress in the Hanoverian affairs; he had taken an audience of the King some days before our arrival, who received him with a stern countenance, and, cocking up his hat at him, read the King's Electoral proposals; when he had heard them, he demanded them in writing; the other answered he had no

orders to give them in writing; upon which answer he at once pulled off his hat and left him abruptly.

On the advice the King had received of the French entering the empire on the side of Westphalia, Baron Schweikeldz had received orders to demand the stipulated succours from the King of Prussia in case his Electoral dominions were attacked: "Let the King of England," he replied, "remain quiet, and I am sure he will not be touched; if he begins, I will not assist him."

All the foregoing circumstances brought on a just distrust of the Prussian Monarch's caprice and humour; naturally violent, suspicious, and uneasy at delay. We might apprehend he would suddenly take an opportunity to break with the King, and seize even this one, and make Mr Robinson the pretence and the innocent victim.

Mr Robinson, therefore, finished his despatch, and we set out on Saturday morning, the 2nd of September; we lay at Grotkau, between the two armies; Wednesday, the 6th, we arrived at Vienna, and the next morning early went to Presburg. The point now was how to represent Mr Robinson's reception at Breslau, how to model and temper matters so as to preserve the face of a negotiation. Lord Hyndford most strenuously desired that palliatives might be substituted instead of the King's harsh treatment, and his Minister's expressions, and merely to let them

know he would have all Lower Silesia, according to his boundaries. The task was too delicate, and might border on deceit, so that Mr Robinson, whose probity ever excluded little arts, determined to tell them the whole of what had passed, softening some parts of Podewill's language, and to let them finally know that what other proposals they might hereafter make must pass through Lord Hyndford's hands, in whom the King of Prussia had the greatest confidence, and whose opinion was, that notwithstanding his Prussian Majesty's ill-humour, he would be content with all Lower Silesia to the Neiss.

These representations of facts threw the Austrian Ministers into the utmost confusion; and as all channels of negotiation were stopped on the side of Bavaria and France, they had no resource remaining but to finish with Prussia at any rate.

The 8th of September a grand conference was summoned to meet at the Castle at Presburg, in the presence of the Queen, the Grand Duke, Counts Kinsky and Colloredo, with four other Ministers, and at which Mr Robinson assisted. The business was to re-model the plan he had offered to the King of Prussia. The only change made was chiefly in the first article, and instead of the line drawn from Grieffenberg to Odelno, they granted all Lower Silesia—the Neiss the boundary—and desired that a tract of ground might be left them from the town of the Neiss to Friedland, not to leave the former town without some

territory, in lieu of which they would cede to the King of Prussia the Duchy of Oëls—the little river Bratech or Britch to be the boundary. They gave a liberty to Lord Hyndford to call the 10,000 men they expected from Prussia auxiliaries only, and left the plan for the forming an army, in concert with the allies, undetermined; and as the King of Prussia had strongly objected to any cession of the feuds or fiefs in Lusatia to the King of Poland, they totally omitted them. All the other articles contained in that plan remained unaltered.

To make this new proposal more effectual, Mr Robinson thought a letter from the Grand Duke to his Prussian Majesty, written in friendly terms, but with dignity, might have weight, and make so strong an impression on the mind of that Prince as to render the proposal more agreeable to him. That letter, obtained with some difficulty, was sent with a full power to Lord Hyndford, dated the 8th of September, and with them a despatch, with exhortations for him to finish so important and necessary a business. A letter was also sent to Baron Schweikeldz to inform him of the state of the negotiation, that the King's Electoral affairs might go on *pari passu* with it.

Mr Draper, who carried the despatch to Breslau, was detained fourteen hours at Grotkau by General Winterfeldt, the Prussian, on various pretences; he had probably sent to the King to know whether he should let him proceed or open his despatches:

Thursday, the 11th, he arrived at Breslau. Lord Hyndford dined in the country, with orders, as Draper supposed, not to be disturbed, for Mr Carmichael would not inform him of his arrival. His Lordship returned late at night. Next day he wrote a letter to the King of Prussia, importing that he had received proposals for peace from Mr Robinson, which he did not choose to carry himself, nor to send him a letter which he had received for him from the Grand Duke, without his Majesty's permission; that, therefore, he sent only the former by his valet de chambre, and kept back the latter till he received his orders.

The King happened to be on horseback, accompanied by Vallory, the French Minister, when the letter was delivered to him; as soon as he opened it he just cast his eye on the contents, throws Lord Hyndford's letter to Vallory, saying, "Tenez, Vallory, voilà des vieux chansons qu'on m'envoye." He lost no time the next day in answering that letter; he began, "J'ai reçû ce que vous m'avez envoyé de la part de l'infatigable Robinson,"—that he could not hearken to that new plan, which was equally with the former captious and dangerous—that he would not abandon his faithful allies, the French and Bavarians; and as the House of Austria was not worth supporting, she must submit to her fate, and desired his lordship not to trouble him further with such idle proposals.

Lord Hyndford re-dispatched Draper the 16th of

September, by the way of Dresden, recommending him to avoid falling in with the Prussian army, for if he did, he could not answer that they would not open his despatches, which he would not wish for the world. His lordship threw out in this despatch, that if Mr Robinson had brought as ample a proposal the first time, the King might have closed with them. He returned the Grand Duke's letter, as the King did not give him leave to send it, and the full powers which he, ignorant in business, thought could not be useful to him on any future occasion. In the meantime Lord Hyndford had had an opening of a negotiation with the King of Prussia in his own way, by a despatch to Mr Robinson, dated the 9th of September, but sent off from Breslau only the 11th. He mentioned that a friend conversing with him had told him that he was almost certain peace could be made with the King on the footing of a bare neutrality; but yet he would not venture to affirm that positively till he had written and received a positive answer from a friend at the camp, who would speak to the King. That answer had retarded two or three days. However, on the 8th, he opened himself peremptorily, and dictated a paper, which Lord Hyndford inclosed.

It contained that if the Queen of Hungary would make a full and clear cession of all Lower Silesia, the town of Neiss included, with the county of Glatz in Bohemia, Neiperg might march with his army where he thought proper, and the King would retire with

his into winter quarters; that in order to make it appear as if Neiss fell into his hands by conquest, he would make a sham siege, on which they might deliver it up to him, and also the town of Namslou. He limited twelve days for a categorical answer, not from the date of that loose paper, which had none, but from the date of Lord Hyndford's letter of the 9th of September.

The Court of Vienna, on receiving this paper, finding themselves surrounded with enemies on all sides, had no choice, were obliged to comply, and in a paper supplicating the King of Prussia not to insist upon Glatz, and to raze the fortifications of Neiss, they yet granted him all he demanded. The same messenger, Dewan, was re-dispatched to Lord Hyndford on the 15th, with these full concesions of the Court of Vienna. When he arrived at the Prussian camp, Schwerin stopped him, and instead of permitting him to go on to Breslau, sent him to Marshal Neiperg, and endeavoured to persuade that General to open his despatches, as Lord Hyndford, he was informed, died a day or two before: but the Marshal immediately answered him that he would not open any foreign Minister's despatches, for though Lord Hyndford should be dead, he supposed he had a secretary, who was the only person to receive them, so that Schwerin then suffered him to go on to Breslau.

The matter was, that the King of Prussia had opened a negtiation with Neiperg, and offered him a

neutrality exclusive of the King's intermeddling, probably out of jealousy, that we wanted he should take part with us, or to have his hands the freer to act hostilely against the King, but as Neiperg's orders did not extend to give up the county of Glatz, that negotiation became abortive.

As soon as Dewan arrived at Breslau, with all the King of Prussia had demanded, Lord Hyndford perceived his error in sending back his full powers and the Grand Duke's letter; he immediately re-dispatched him for both, apologising for what he had done, with loose or rather no reasons for his conduct, and that of his not going to the camp, for which place he would immediately set out to wait Dewan's return; he added, that he had sufficient proof of the paper sent coming immediately from the King of Prussia, of which we did not doubt at the moment we received it, every part of the management savoured of the King's cunning, or left-handed wisdom, of which he had made Count Podewills the instrument, for the *conditio sine quâ non* was the greatest secret, and if the least part transpired, that the King would absolutely and positively disown the whole.

The messenger on the 20th met Baron Schweikeldz, the Hanoverian Minister, and Baron Buhlau, the Saxon, at Grotkau, coming from the Prussian camp. The former wrote a letter to Mr Robinson; he told him he had an audience of the King of Prussia, which had lasted near two hours, the result was, that

his Prussian Majesty formally declared he had many *vielles griefves*, old grievances, and old demands on the Electorate, and that he must attack that country to settle them, and by that means force the King into a peace with Spain. That he was as determined to oblige the King of Poland to join him and enter into Bohemia, which language he had also held to Baron Buhlau, the Saxon Minister.

Schweikeldz concluded in deploring the future state of his country and of all Europe, extolling Mr Robinson's and his own zeal, and pitying Lord Hyndford's unfeeling coolness.

PART II.

RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS IN 1742.

In the month of April 1742, I set out from Vienna to return to England, by his Majesty's orders. I was not sorry to leave a scene of confusion, want, and despair, without a prospect of recovery, or any seeming means, but such resolution and vigour on our part, of which no symptom then appeared; pretences and evasions of all kinds were practised, the Dutch would not act cordially, we were but partly engaged, and a *sine quâ non* that peace must be concluded at any rate with the King of Prussia. When I arrived in the month of May, I found the Ministers as undecided as they appeared to me when I was absent; Lord Granville, then Lord Carteret, alone had just ideas of our situation, and the necessity of a formed, determined plan, and as determined an execution. The King was fully convinced of the propriety and rectitude of his political sentiments, but as that Minister had neither the Treasury, nor consequently

the power of Parliament in his hands, he was obliged to submit, and to be drawn by those Ministers who had both.

The Duke of Newcastle really, or by an affected credulity, seemed in a labyrinth, unresolved, undetermined, and by the combined lies of all the Ministers of the several powers in hostile opposition to the House of Austria, who daily invented them, had the strongest prepossessions that that house was not worth supporting, a language he had taken out of their mouths. After many embraces from his Grace on my appearance, he began his discourse; expressing his diffidence of the Grand Duke of Tuscany's sobriety, he asked me, with much emotion, how it had happened that so accomplished a Prince, whom he much affectioned when he was here as Duke of Lorrain, could fall into such a low pernicious vice as that of continual drunkenness, that a cloud of evidences had assured him of the fact. I asked his Grace, with great composure and a smile, whether he had ever such advice from Mr Robinson or me? whether we should not have been inexcusable in omitting so notorious a circumstance, relating to a character we knew made the object of the King's and the national hope, as a successor to the Imperial dignity; that I could assure him from the most intimate knowledge of that Prince, and from public notoriety, that that report was a most infamous calumny; that even so far from any such suspicion, it was most certain he

could not bear a single glass of wine, or of any liquor stronger than pure water; that the waters of the hereditary countries had been examined by physicians, and weighed, to discover the lightest for his use, and that he never travelled without a quantity of water produced by a spring in Vienna, called the Brindel, which was deemed the purest and lightest. I could even further aver, that his physician, Dr Basan, who had been with him from his infancy, often deplored with me that he could never persuade his Royal Highness to try a glass of Tokay, as he thought it would be a proper cordial to his constitution, for the circulation of the blood was very languid, though he apprehended a defect in the formation of the sternum, which was rather too narrow; besides that I had seen him frequently at his meals, without taking any other liquid but pure water.

The Duke seemed pleased at this account, and appeared as if his faith was turned on my evidence. I found that it had one good effect, the bringing him nearer to Lord Granville's more illumined intentions.

In the fluctuating state of the Ministers' opinions, among whom no one but Lord Granville seemed determined, I was ordered by his Majesty to give an answer to the best of my knowledge to the following questions.

The reason which had induced so many powers to raise pretensions, and to attack the heiress of the House of Austria?

How that House subsisted?

How long they could subsist?

And the state of the enemy?

I drew up, from some materials, and my own knowledge, the most precise answers I could to the several questions. The King pressed for the answers: and he had them at Kensington four days after the demand.

I returned to England, fully determined to quit the King's service: to shake hands with ambition in that line, and to set down at home contented with my own situation; my fortune easy, and the prospect of a large annual increase. I had accordingly fixed my plan, but whether from a preconceived good opinion of my zeal, or whether from his Majesty's approbation of that paper I had given in, I found myself obliged by the Ministers to return to Vienna, on a more enlarged plan than I had been before ostensibly engaged in; they expressed his Majesty's and their own desire in the strongest terms. I as firmly declined, as they were pressing; they thought I persisted merely on a view of some considerable demands, which were remote from my thoughts. However, Lord Granville tempted me in the King's name with any character, any honour, or emolument, I should ask or desire. These had no effect: pressed as they were—I suspect by his Majesty—I felt the counter-weight of that pressure. The Duke of Newcastle sent me frequent messages to attend him; I obeyed, and though I went

punctually to his hour, I never was fortunate enough to meet him; I felt my own situation, and determined to answer his call no more.

Lord Granville had taken me much into his confidence. I found I possessed his good opinion, and from frankness of friendship, candid, and evidently flowing from the heart, I was sure it was clear of art or deceit. I could not refuse him a sincere return; but as he found he did not prevail on what he called my obstinacy, one morning, on his return from Kensington, he desired most urgently that I would go to the Duke of Newcastle. I modestly declined, and told him fairly, that I could not be his Grace's drudge; that I had answered punctually his appointment, but he either forgot his message, or designedly slipped aside, so that it was his own fault if I never had seen him. He pressed, and assured me I should not be disappointed, that the Duke waited impatiently for the moment to see me, and would receive me with open arms. I therefore determined to wait upon him.

My visit was as welcome to his Grace as Lord Granville had foretold; he received with embraces, chocolate was ready, and he as ready to persuade and conjure me to accept of his Majesty's offer and to return to Vienna. He thought I stood on bargaining, offered me any price I should name, as Lord Granville had done, repeated honours, emoluments, &c.; I as constantly and firmly declined. His main reason

then turned on Mr Robinson's love and affection for me, that it was brotherly, that he could not live without me; and then the use I should be to his Majesty and the nation. That they had business of the utmost consequence they would confide to nobody but me and Mr Robinson; and that the King had said that business could not succeed but in our hands; and he could tell me confidentially particularly in mine.

I took this Court language as a line, and threw the bait aside. But I resumed my discourse with him an another principle; I fairly told him I wanted neither honours nor emoluments, if I should go, I desired it might be on the same footing; I had as much of the King's pay as my station required; and there had never been a competition or the least discord between Mr Robinson and me. I wanted no honours which might interfere with his; that though I had made my plan to stay at home, I would offer a condition or two to his Grace on which alone I could return. That as he knew Mr Robinson's affection for me, mine was not less towards him: though I did not know any particular relation or connection between his Grace and Mr Robinson, yet I thought there was some such existing with his brother, Mr Pelham, whom I had not the honour of knowing personally; but be that as it may, his Grace knew Mr Robinson was a younger brother with a small fortune, and then married, with a growing family; that he had never hoarded riches, never had been in the way of ex-

ceeding mere living; his services had been long and great; and that even in that important event of the peace with Prussia, in which I had some share, he had borne the whole burthen; that Lord Hyndford, who had no further trouble than to give, what he with odium and irremissible labour obtained, had been distinguished and superabundantly rewarded; that, therefore, if his Grace could obtain of his Majesty a thousand pounds a year augmentation for Mr Robinson, I could perhaps return with such good tidings, and sacrifice my interest and time to the King's service during the continuance of the war.

The Duke seemed startled at this proposal, and, looking in amaze, said he durst not even propose it to his Majesty; that, on the treaty of 1731, Mr Robinson had been advanced from Envoy Extraordinary to Minister Plenipotentiary, and had then the increased pay of 3*l.* per diem, so that it was too near the time, *i.e.* eleven years, to mention so delicate a matter to the King. I then pressed him to know whether his merit in the late peace with Prussia, in which both his body and mind had suffered the severest risks and anxieties, would not be rewarded in some solid and substantial manner; that it was the moment for a faithful zealous servant to feel his master's bounty and generosity. He said he had thought that as Mr Robinson had formerly desired the Red Ribbon, it might be the more agreeable to him on this occasion, and that that ostensible mark of the King's favour

would be a more permanent one of his Majesty's approbation.

I spoke of the Ribbon with such indifference that surprised his Grace. I told him that when mature minds sought rewards, baubles and gew-gaws were not competent; they might please the vanity and levity of youth, and, perhaps, when he thought that the brilliancy of a Star and Garter might add to the lustre of a single man, he, at that time, might have been flattered with the splendour; but now that he had a wife and several young children, the providing for these made up the essential part of his happiness, and for them it was I meant a solid, substantial reward.

Finding, however, that all this reasoning had no weight with the Duke, I turned the matter on what I thought more feasible, and in itself just and reasonable; I told him that as I knew Mr Robinson's desire, on account of the education of his children, was turned towards home, and that, whenever a general peace should happen, he would seek to return at any rate; if, therefore, his Grace would intercede with the King to give him any post or place, or even to secure him one before his arrival, whenever that should happen, the reward would be equally agreeable to that which I had first proposed.

The Duke, on this point, stroked his face, settled his wig, hesitated, and asked me, with a slow voice, stooping towards my ear, has he a borough? can he get

into Parliament? I told him I knew of no borough, no interest which could bring him into Parliament, but his Grace's; on which I rose up, took my leave abruptly, with this single remark, that I supposed, after twenty years' service, the same question would be put to me, and on such a vague prospect I was confirmed in my first resolution of staying at home. His Grace followed me, on my retreat, begging and entreating me to return into his closet, which I absolutely refused.

I left him, I confess, with indignation, and to disburthen my mind of the impressions of so discouraging and unsatisfactory a conversation, I immediately went to Lord Granville, who judged by my countenance the effects of my conference with the Duke; he received me with his usual smile, inclined to a laugh—brought me to a detail of the whole; the singularity of the negotiation not only amused him exceedingly, but heightened his spirits to much mirth. I found, however, by his Lordship's asking what the Duke would say to the King? that I had the interview by his Majesty's command.

However, when our facetious remarks on my morning's transaction were over, Lord Granville began the matter more seriously, and pressingly desired me to state my objections for not continuing in the King's service, as he was, he said, long convinced that I had some reserved reason besides that of my own situation about which he was fully in-

formed, but that he was sure it was not the only. He foamed with eloquence to bring me to speak and to declare what I had in my mind, and what could induce me to decline his Majesty's and his Ministers' solicitations.

I broke forth then with all the power of words, recapitulating the perfidious conduct of all our former foreign transactions since the year 1731. How we pressed and agonised for the treaty concluded that year with the House of Austria, and, notwithstanding, two years after, left them under frivolous pretences and mere low chicane a prey to their enemies, acting against our own interests in aggrandising the House of Bourbon on every side, when, with a single nod, we could have reduced the Cardinal Fleury's fears into horrors, and have prevented the march of a single Frenchman into Germany. That now that treaty and the pragmatic sanction remained in full force, and that our highest interests called upon us to support that house, without whom the balance of Europe could not subsist, and we, though the last perhaps in the scale of conquest, must be left in the end to the desperate resource of the beneficium ordinis; but though our own preservation should not be so immediately concerned, why did we enter into treaties, and form engagements we never intended to fulfil? We became by such conduct the derision of all Europe, our faith worse than Punic, so that no man of senti-

ment or honour durst show his face not only in the King's service, but even as an Englishman.

I had borne the brunt, had run through the asperity of severe reflections from those whose confidence in us was aggravated by their sufferings, which I could not sharpen by a reply, I was ready to risk life and fortune for the King's national service in an honourable cause, but would rather perish than become a base, low tool in a dishonourable one: and as I had too much seen and felt what had been, I had little hope of seeing matters bettered—or such fortitude and vigour, as became the faith, probity, and renown of a great nation;—therefore I thought the post of honour in such times was a private station. "This, my lord," I concluded, "is my political creed, and had rendered my determination not to stir from home, for I most solemnly declare to your lordship, did my passion to serve Mr Robinson lead me back to Vienna, the same passive dastardly measures continuing, would urge me immediately to beg and require a recal."

Lord Granville heard me with a composed and a placid countenance, accompanied with a nod of approbation; he drew every feature of our ministerial conduct since 1731, in that strong and forcible colouring, which, by the power of his elocution, presented a whole to the understanding as an uninformed chaos, destructive of every symptom of order in a political system, and which, as he said, at this time

only could be brought into some regular design. That such was the King and his own intention, but they had an Augean stable to cleanse; for I knew on what ground he stood, that he could never submit his mind to the low detail of parliamentary management, nor stoop to the mean measures of taking the advantage of men's distresses or wants to bribe their suffrage and their friendship; his only friend in government was the King, the Pelhams did not love him. They went through the drudgery of corruption, held the House of Commons, and tied up the King and his hands; however, his Majesty had overcome them.

As to their main difficulties, and I might be assured, and I might depend on what he then averred, that measures which could not be retracted were agreed on, and that the first step of vigour was determined, that is, Lord Stair's march into the heart of Germany with his whole army. That was what he called but the first step, for if he, Lord Granville, could lead them on gradually, and make them see the interest of their country, and the general interest of Europe, he would reduce France to the brink of perdition, they should be persecuted in every quarter, in the East and West Indies, by land and by sea in Europe, not a town on their coasts but should feel the weight of our arms, nor any of their possessions remain free from our insults; but, in so vast and extensive an execution he must obtain the main and only efficacious support, money, for he apprehended it might reach to ten

millions, the very idea of which drove the Pelhams into despair, bewildered their understanding, and he feared would lead them to conspire his ruin; however, he should persist and push his point, and hoped that at last, if that great and salutary point did not succeed in his hands, it might one day in those of some other, who, with more power and interest, had with him the same zeal and warmth for the happiness and prosperity of his country.

He confessed the expense was great and tremendous, but not more than we were able to bear, and would on a peace be found the less; as the extension of commerce by the conquest would pay us the interest and enable us to sink the capital; for after reducing France to an impossibility of venturing on a war for fifty years at least, we had full time before us to use our sinking-fund for its real purpose; the more so, as no other enemy could molest us. To forward this great end it was essentially necessary to secure in our interest at any rate the King of Sardinia, by whom we could subdue the kingdom of Naples, or make such a diversion in Dauphiné as would distress France in its vitals, and as the King had this measure at heart, he wished he could have my co-operation with Mr Robinson to bring the Court of Vienna to such concessions as might make the King of Sardinia inalienably and eternally our friend.

He hoped this great object would excite my zeal and bring me to a final resolution; and concluded with

saying that as he had opened his soul to me on public matters, he would with the same truth and candour do it on private ones; that as he had the utmost confidence in my friendship, and that I might depend on his, he had already told me the ground on which he stood, and that his mere support was the King only. His Majesty was so persuaded of his influence with me, that if I did not accept the King's offer, and go back to Vienna, I exposed him to incur his disgrace, and he did not know if he should not forthwith forfeit his favour: he solemnly assured me of this as a fact, and averred it to me as a friend.

I told him, which was the truth, that my confidence in his integrity was unbounded, that the mere suspicion of his Lordship having a moment of uneasiness as to any possible matter I could prevent, I would sacrifice every other motive of self or any interest whatever for his ease and quiet. The representation of facts as he had given them to me had raised my doubts, his personal situation had changed my hesitation into resolution, and he might assure the King that I would cheerfully undertake to execute his Majesty's commands, and return to Vienna with them. I, however, added—on this single condition, that I should not remain there after the war, nor in case Mr Robinson should be recalled. Though I had daily sufficient grounds to suspect that I had the King's good opinion, I did not fully discover it until Lord Granville dropped to me, that for a young man

I had the most mature political judgment of any one he had ever conversed with, that I had riveted myself in the King's favour by a generous self-denial and refusing every offer of honours and emoluments his Majesty had ordered them to throw in my way, for on that report the King immediately said, "Did not I tell you he is the only young man who serves through zeal and affection?" Soon after I was fully confirmed of his Majesty's sentiments, by an unexpected invitation I received to meet the Countess of Y——th to dine at a friend's. I had not the honour of her acquaintance; she conversed with me in the most obliging manner, and told me freely how grateful my services were to his Majesty, and the satisfaction it gave him that I should continue them; she gave me letters for her family at Hanover, and ever after showed me every mark of esteem, though I never had an opportunity to cultivate her friendship.

Matters thus settled, Lord Granville informed me that I should have important instructions to execute, and fixed a day to communicate them to me, besides the Sardinian treaty; that I should carry with me their most secret intentions, which would be, he did not doubt, acceptable to the Queen of Hungary and the Court of Vienna. After dinner we sat down to digest, as I apprehended, these instructions into form. I took up the pen; he dictated, holding a paper in his

ds, which had been transmitted from Vienna the

June, by Mr Robinson, called '*reflections*

secrétes.' It contained the last sentiments of the Court of Vienna concerning the then circumstances of Europe, particularly on the change of these circumstances occasioned by their late treaty with the King of Prussia, the use to be made of that event, their little hope of aid or any real act of friendship from that Prince, but rather their doubts and apprehension of every ill-office in his power; that as the mere consideration of the King's friendship had brought them to make so large and important a sacrifice to him, they could not but expect some security for a compensation during the course or according to the events of the war; for these great ends some concert should be formed, and some plan determined relative to the whole and him; the Dutch and Russians should be joined with us in interest, the Princes of the Empire, as Manitz and Hesse Cassel, brought over to us; and, to give more weight, they could furnish us with any body of their troops as auxiliaries. By all which means a more general combination would be formed against France, and all those Princes, who adhered to that power and to the Emperor Charles the Seventh, be the easier encouraged to unite in our measures. Each paragraph of this paper being numbered, my instructions were an answer to every number distinctly.

I was, by the King's immediate command, to take an audience of the Queen of Hungary, and to assure her Majesty of the King's firm and unalterable friend-

ship, his most determined resolution to act in the most effectual manner for her service, and to disappoint the vast designs of France, so as to make them fully repent of the share they were taking against her. That the King and all his Ministers were united in thought with the Court of Vienna concerning the King of Prussia, but that in good policy they also considered that it was no time to give him the least umbrage, far from entering into any private concert against him, we should not even suggest a doubt or jealousy, nor show the least animosity against him, but rather let him feel with discretion a seeming confidence, in short, we should take him as he is, and as in these moments he seems to make advances as if he wanted us, let us receive those advances as marks of confidence, but not carrying with them the least shadow or appearance as if we wanted him: for, at all events, if he should disturb us in our operations, we have the Court of Saxony ready to join and make head against all his efforts.

When he had gone thus far I stopped, and as awaking from a profound reverie, I threw down my pen, and, with some emotion, asked his Lordship in what form he meant I should deliver these instructions, whether verbally to the Queen or in writing; if in the former manner, and they were not signed by him, I should be considered as speaking without authority, raise her and her Ministers' jealousy and suspicions, of which they were full, as if the whole

was insidious and nothing meant seriously; since the King's Ministers would not, according to the usual form, give them in writing, that I was sure would be the first question asked, the first demand made.

Lord Granville answered that there was no necessity either for his signing or giving anything in writing; my credentials were sufficient authority, for it would be only perpetuating memorials, reflections, &c., and heaps of papers, of which the office already abounded; that they might depend on the King's word as much as if they were countersigned by all his Ministers, for that they would be as suspicious and jealous of the one the same as of the other.

I told him that I knew them too well not to be persuaded that writing would at least carry more weight and be less suspected, and that, at all events, it would ease my burthen, which otherwise might be too great for me to bear. I knew the Princess I had to deal with, that altercations would arise, and the party was not equal. It was the frog contending with the ox. I knew that with her quick and often hasty imagination she might take what I said, though ever so cautiously expressed, in a different sense from what was meant; that it happened in several cases with other Ministers, and yet she would support her own conception; that though I was sure of the King's and his Lordship's support, Parliament might call me to account for saying what she would affirm, and I

should deny to no purpose, her word would be considered all veracity, mine, fraud and imposition, and at best I might be looked upon as a mere tool of Administration; that, therefore I could not risk on such an arduous adventure, and begged he would make my excuses to his Majesty.

Every passion seemed delineated in Lord Granville's countenance, his eyes sparkled, he raised his brows, settled his wig, sometimes straight, sometimes awry, then, with all the power of words and eloquence, ridiculed my cowardice and my doubt of being supported at home; extolled the importance by the confidential import of the commission, that I was the depository of the King's and Ministers' most secret thoughts and designs; that a like commission was the origin of the late Lord Stanhope's fortune; he had traced that ground for me to become as great. He exhorted, persuaded, and in a set dissertation made use of every possible argument to move me. Lost to his rhetorical powers I remained quiet in my chair as if I had been all attention. Whilst wrapt up in thought I was reflecting how I could execute this commission at Vienna with honour and safety. I considered that I might find some excuse not to take the audience without Mr Robinson; if he did, which I was almost sure he would, I then ran no risk: we were two to attest all I should say, and, therefore, my words could not be misrepresented from the ideas they might convey to him, as well as to our Hungarian

Majesty; that if any misunderstanding, doubt, or jealousy arose in her mind, or any altercation concerning the King's intention, he would bear his part. In short, I determined to proceed with the commission, and, without telling his Lordship my reason, coolly desired him to continue dictating.

He started at my resolution, pressed me to know whence arose this sudden change. He continued,—that we saw matters in the same light they did at the Court of Vienna, as to the untoward state of the empire and the inactivity of the Dutch, however, these were not worse, but we had all the reason to hope they would be better, especially with the republic, on the peace with Prussia. They seemed to have taken a favourable turn, we had hopes that would continue, and our business was to improve it, and our entire situation on that peace. On this foundation we hoped to get over every remaining difficulty with the Empress of Russia, as we had already surmounted those we thought immense, for we found that Empress so immersed in the interest of France, by Leuhetardie's intrigues, that her prejudices were to be apprehended as unsurmountable. By removing him we have gotten the better of her, and there are grounds to hope her passions will be directed as much against that Court as they seemed in their favour. These moments we are improving, and we leave no stone unturned by reason and argument, and a stronger coercive motive, guineas, to

fix that Court in our interest, the effects of which their Minister, the Marquis Bolta, will feel, and, by our success, have all the reason in the world to be content. The King did not doubt of the ill-intentions of the electors of Mentz and of Trêves, that they might be induced, by the intrigues of the Emperor and of France, or apprehending their resentment, deliver up their two towns by collusion, in which case we had but one method to pursue, that was, to re-take them by force. The King wished Lord Stair and the Duke D'Aremberg had not been so hasty in offering to garrison those towns, as it might induce the other powers to take an immediate possession; if, however, these two electors shall stand firm and keep them in their own possession, we will defend them and preserve them from insult.

That Prince William, Stadtholder, of Hesse Cassel, professed the greatest dissatisfaction and repentance of having given troops against the house of Austria; that we were using all efforts to have them recalled, and as we were supported by the King of Sweden, who highly disapproved the measure his brother had adopted, if he cannot prevail on the Emperor to relinquish them, we shall at least prevent them from operating. There is, however, the greatest prospect of totally dissolving that tie. The King's determination in supporting the house of Austria is to act as the French have done, as auxiliaries; that in taking their troops as such in his pay would be acting as

principals: the name, in fact, will not change the thing, as we shall bend all our efforts with the same vigour, whether the one or the other, that, therefore, all we desired was, that they should have their army complete, without diminishing that number they intended for us, and that in November, when the Parliament met, they shall receive the 30,000*l.* for that purpose.

We agree with them, and are as fully assured of the vast and insidious designs of France as they are, which we are studying to oppose and prevent, and to raise up every obstacle we can in their way: we know we have in part succeeded, and we shall assiduously endeavour to improve our advantage, for it is the King's firm intention, one way or other, to curtail the possessions of the house of Bourbon; and, if the good prospect before us should turn events in our favour this summer, we may be enabled to find a compensation for what the Queen has sacrificed to the King of Prussia in Germany. The Emperor has begun to make overtures of a conciliation, and since their intention is to let him continue to enjoy the Imperial dignity for life, the King wishes that the Court of Vienna would take that negociation on themselves, and aggrandise him at the expense of France, in keeping Bavaria, or a part, as a compensation to themselves, we might secure him Alsatia as long as he holds the Imperial dignity, or for his life, as the Queen's intention is not to dethrone him;

therefore, not to let that dignity continue in his family, the Grand Duke shall be immediately elected King of the Romans, and Lorraine be restored to Prince Charles.

These proposals might come without loss of time with more propriety and efficacy from them; for as those proposals—thrown out by the Prince of Hesse from the Emperor, and to which we have not only given him a positive refusal, but referred him to apply to, and agree with the Queen—plainly show he is wavering; what, therefore, might come from her Hungarian Majesty may be the more natural, and may the readier induce him to join in our measures: to gain him will be a means of gaining and recruiting the whole empire; and in whatever or howsoever they shall agree the King will maintain and support them with constancy, vigour, and efficacy.

Though, indeed, nothing more positive could be said to the Court of Vienna, I well apprehended that such declarations, so vague and uncertain, accompanied with no authenticity, to secure the permanency of the King's sentiments even on contingent events, would be no ways satisfactory; but if they were digested into a conditional treaty or given in a memorial in writing, might have its proper weight, and seemed what they desired, what they meant by a formal compact, though depending merely on contingencies: but all my remarks on this matter were immediately rejected and overruled.

I saw my commission would raise in their narrow minds infinite suspicions, that it would slacken their vigour, and extend it no farther than mere self-defence; that they would even conclude that words would be as easily disavowed as they were uttered. I was not mistaken, however, as I had once engaged myself, with whatever reluctance I accepted the commission, I would not retract.

This was not the only weight with which I was burthened: I had, besides, the draft of a treaty with the King of Sardinia; I was to labour to bring the Court of Vienna to sacrifice whole provinces to him for his friendship. Silesia was a morsel they had not digested, when we were to reduce their power and revenues in Italy to a skeleton. The treaty, with the gradual alternate demands of his Sardinian Majesty, from the highest to the lowest, were confided in my hands, to examine and to give my sentiments on them. I found rubs and difficulties in every article, but what filled me with surprise was, that the article in which we engaged to take Feriol from the Genoese and give it to the King of Sardinia was in the body of the treaty, which in all former copies remained as a secret article. When I made this material objection, Lord Granville insisted that the Emperor had a right of retrogradation in paying the purchase money which the Genoese had given for it, amounting to 1,200,000 florins. He said D'Ormea, the King of Sardinia's Minister, had fully considered

the condition of sale, and the whole matter; that he was so positive as to the right, that that Prince insisted it should be an ostensible article. I assured his Lordship the Marquis D'Ormea imposed upon him, for that he must know the sale was not only made by the Emperor, but also as a feud of the empire. It was confirmed at the Diet of the empire, so that without their consent no retrograde right remained, nor could that be urged without there was a breach of conditions, if any existed in the contract of the sale, that I knew but of one suspected, which was relating to the sale of salt, about which I should make further inquiry. He persisted that it was a point the King of Sardinia insisted upon, and must be complied with; that without him we could not destroy the power of the Bourbons in Italy, or drive them out of it; that there was no demurring with that King, for that all our success depended upon his friendship, which alone would procure effectual means of furnishing the Queen with a further compensation on that side, and of carrying our arms into the Dauphinée, and to destroy Toulon and Marseilles.

With the copy of this definitive treaty I had the Marquis D'Orea's memorial of the month of May, setting forth the King of Sardinia's distress, the improbability of his continuing in our alliance, if he had not a prospect of some amends for what his countries suffered, and what he sacrificed by refusing

the offers made him by France; this memorial was accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle's letter of the 1st of July, to Mr Villette, at Turin, wherein he expressed the King's firm intention of driving the Spaniards out of Italy this year, and recommending the King of Sardinia's co-operation for that great end. The conditions, however, to engage his Sardinian Majesty in this great work, and which I carried with me to Vienna, were that the Queen of Hungary shall make a cession of the County of Anghierra, the Niguanessa, all the Parmesan and Plesantin, with Bolbio included, and which was understood their right to Feriol. With these I prepared for my journey, but, before my departure, Lord Granville asked me whether I had any arrears due? I told him I had nearly a year's, on which he spontaneously said he would speak to the King, and obtain his order for payment. A few days after, I dined at Mr Gore's, with Lord Wilmington, then First Commissioner of the Treasury; I found he looked upon me with an air of indifference, but, changing countenance, he took me aside after dinner and asked me whether I had not spoken to the King about my arrears?

I told him I had not. Who had? for he had received his Majesty's orders, through Lord Granville, to pay them; but I should know that they of the Treasury were proud fellows, and expected the first application to them. I explained him the case, upon which he invited me to breakfast with him the next

morning. He told me the King had spoken of me with regard to it, but had asked him whether, on my first departure, near four years past, he had not given me 500*l.* for my journey—Lord Wilmington was not then in that post; he did not remember, or never knew it—I told him he had, but I had only that sum from his Majesty for subsistence till near two years after, which, indeed, had been my own fault, for I declined having a fixed appointment with my first credentials until I could see a prospect of success. The good Lord added, you see what a post I hold, and how exact we must be when we have a King to deal with who can remember such a sum so long time ago.

I cannot omit adding another anecdote which passed with Lord Granville. Before I waited on him, which was almost daily, I made generally a morning visit to Mr Horace Walpole, since Lord Walpole. I had no particular acquaintance with him, before my return, but he laid me under great obligations for many wise and instructive letters he had written to me at Vienna. I found Sir Robert Walpole, then Lord Orford, and himself under the examination and censure of a secret committee; he seemed uneasy, and, as I was well persuaded, they were as immaculate as any ministers that preceded, or even that could succeed them, my zeal in their cause was warm and sincere.

Lord Granville had one day expected me before he went to the King, and reproached me that I had not

been punctual to my time; I told him I had been detained in a very instructive visit; he asked me to whom? I answered, to Mr Horace Walpole: he smiled, and seemed surprised how I could be entertained by him, and rather treated him with contempt, though he knew his merit. At least I took that opportunity to expatiate on it; I even added my astonishment and surprise that his Lordship and the Administration should suffer the secret committee to continue, for, if it was encouraged, the case of the late might be that of the present Administration, and that I was sure, from my knowledge of mankind, young as I was, and from our own and other histories, that there never was a first minister who had governed this or any other kingdom twenty-one years, or half that time, but a faction might find an hundred misdemeanours against the state to deprive him of life and fortune; that Mr Walpole had told me that sixteen members of one county, who had constantly voted against them, were now determined to support their innocence, and that, therefore, he and other ministers should crush at once all further pursuits.

He struck me on the shoulder, and asked if he could depend on me that I would not reveal the secret to Mr Walpole or any of his friends. I answered if he enjoined it, certainly. He replied, "I do, on your honour and on your head. Why, then," says he, "give us but time; we mean to save them

—not a hair of their heads will be touched, but we must have time."

With all my zeal, I could obtain nothing for Mr Robinson but the Red Ribbon. I had prepared every requisite for my departure, which was about the middle of July, and intended to take the shortest way to accelerate my journey, by Helveotsluys; but the King having received advice of two Spanish privateers cruising off that coast, I received orders to wait for an armed sloop fitting out in the river, intended to cruise against these privateers, but with orders to land me first at any secure place; we made Ostend, whence I was obliged to go to Utrecht for my chaise. This detour retarded me; I, however, soon after reached Hanover, delivered some voluminous dispatches, talked with the minister, and set off for Dresden, where I arrived the 2nd of August. Finding all the road clear, I departed thence to join the Grand Duke and Marshal Königsegge, who were besieging 27,000 French in Prague. I arrived at the head-quarters at Methel on the 4th.

My instructions were most particularly to obtain the Grand Duke and Marshal Königsegge's approbation and interest to push the Sardinian negociation. I made use of every consideration and every argument recommended to me, but though they both saw the importance of the sacrifice the Queen was to make to purchase the King of Sardinia's friendship,

they agreed that it was of such immense use at this juncture, and in their present circumstances, that every political consideration argued the necessity. They were so fully convinced that they would press the Queen and the Cabinet of Vienna not to delay a moment, trusting to the King our master's friendship for a compensation according to the events of the war.

Buoyed up with hope, I made the best of my way to Vienna, where I arrived the 7th. The first greeting I had from Mr Robinson, though I carried him the Red Ribbon, was an exclamation that he knew I had done wonders in the field; but I should find how it was received in the cabinet, who were indeed ready to receive me, not with open arms, but to pull me to pieces; that they had abused the Grand Duke and the Marshal, and he expected they would abuse me. I told him I would stand all their abuse and ill-humour, but if they expected we should heartily support them, they must efficaciously help, and that I was sure with all their ill-humour, they must close at last with the King of Sardinia.

I waited till the 19th before I had my audience of the Queen. I represented the necessity of Mr Robinson's presence and his support; though he was startled at my commission, and foresaw the consequences I had fully represented to Lord Granville, he reluctantly attended me.

In delivering my credentials, I began in the usual

form, with my paper in hand, to assure her Majesty of the King's inviolable and immutable friendship, and zealous disposition of all his Majesty's ministers to support her, on which I enlarged that her Majesty would see by my credentials the King's sentiments confirmed by his intention to unite their respective kingdoms by the indissoluble band of interest, on a permanent commercial plan, for which purpose Sir Thos. Robinson and myself were charged with that particular commission.

The Queen immediately answered she was extremely beholden to the King for these assurances of his sincere friendship; that she had the most perfect confidence in him, and that she was the more obliged as she was thus far saved by his money; but she hoped his Majesty would now do the business completely with his troops—that she had pushed on the siege of Prague merely at the King's request. "Though," she said, addressing herself to Sir Thos. Robinson, "that he might be informed of the very advantageous terms she had refused, that it had given her some concern that I had reason to be dissatisfied on my return home from Vienna, but that it did not depend on her; she would now make me amends, and I should be thoroughly contented, as she was glad of the present opportunity of bringing matters to a stricter union with the British nation, and of complicating that of her country's with his Majesty's."

I then proceeded to open the other part of my com-

mission, which, I told her Majesty, was 'the King's and all his servants' most sincere and genuine sentiments, concerning the whole of what they had resolved, and intended inviolably to pursue for the effectual support of the common cause.

In the first points concerning the King of Prussia, she shook her head, and drew up her lip, she had not, nor could not have any confidence in him, that his want of principle, and breach of faith, were too notorious for her to have the least trust in his asseverations or good faith, that he was then deceiving the King, and she wished his Majesty and his Ministers were more upon their guard, for she was very sure, that he only meant to deceive them. That a concert was necessary at all events, and she expected I had brought the draft of one in writing, for if we did not proceed, not only on a general, but on some particular plan which she expected, on the sacrifice she had made to Prussia of all Silesia, we should fail in all our undertakings, and act by halves.

We told her what his Majesty had entrusted me with, amounted to that concert, and might be as effectually depended upon; that with the crowd of enemies surrounding her, and the King, her only declared friend, temporizing with Prussia, and seeming confidence, accompanied always with diffidence. might be the most politic conduct we could pursue, the ng and his Ministers meant no further, and to take

him as he is. I repeated what I was ordered, and what I had in writing on that head.

She heard most of the other points with more composure and less agitation, but on the negotiation with the Emperor she grew impatient; that it was all deceit, proposals insidiously made by the traitorous hand of the Prince of Hesse, drawn up by France, revised at Potsdam, and with no other view than to slacken her efforts against that combination of enemies who meant her destruction; that her honour, her dignity, her religion, would not permit her to make the least overture on such proposals, she knew the Emperor could not, durst not, take the least part against France, less against Prussia, should he again attack her, and that all he wanted was to recover Bavaria, and get what money he could from us, that the burthen might be thrown off from the shoulders of France, to lay it on our own; therefore, she entreated the King not to listen to their insidious proposals, which, she did not doubt, they would throw out every day. This matter relished so ill, that I found we had worse to expect when we mentioned the Sardinian demands. I therefore began, and Sir Thomas Robinson seconded me in setting forth the use, and necessity of acquiring the fixed friendship of the King of Sardinia, that without him our designs to drive the House of Bourbon out of Italy, or distressing them in all quarters could not [illegible]ed;

that the King therefore earnestly requested of her Majesty to satisfy him in such a manner, that a vigorous plan of operation might go on in those parts, by which means she might, according to the events of war, be fully indemnified on that side, for whatever she might give him.

The Queen broke out with more vehemence on this representation than she had hitherto done; after a continued flow of words and passion, she finished and dropped her fan, I stooped to take it up and lost the series of ideas I had collected; as I had just taken up her last word to begin a reply, Sir Thomas Robinson helped my recollection. She had disclaimed conceding to the King of Prussia the least part of his demand, that she had already sacrificed the best jewel of her Crown at our pressing instances, and against her conscience, by making a mortal breach in the pragmatic sanction, and she would rather lose all Italy, than keep what would not be worth her holding; that if he aggrandised Bourbons in Italy, he must himself expect to be destroyed, for he could never withstand their power without her aid.

We represented to her, the probability of her recovering the greatest part of that country, Naples and Sicily, so that the whole would be divided between her and the King of Sardinia, and that we humbly apprehended, if she was driven out, his Sardinian Majesty having all Lombardy, and perhaps part of the Genoese territories, might support himself

with the Venetians, even against the joint efforts of the House of Bourbon.

All our arguments only increased her emotion of spirits, and seemed to confirm her resolution, of not ceding an inch of ground to the King of Sardinia; she even threw out a reflection on the Grand Duke, and Königsegge, for abetting the King's sentiments, and said they did not combine the whole, nor know what was going on at Vienna: and laid repeated stress on the King's sending me with such a message, which could but shake her confidence in him, by suffering her to depend on mere words only, in such important matters, and hinted if all I had said was meant to be done, his Majesty and his Ministers could have no scruple to commit the matter to writing, or secure her by a conditional treaty.

After two hours' audience, disagreeable in the conclusion, we turned to her Ministers. It cannot be expected that Princes can attend with profound application to every circumstance of extended business, so as to form a determined judgment, few have the habit of collecting ideas sufficient to form a just process of the understanding, a quick apprehension often slides into imagination, and leaves no time for solid and mature reflection, they are sometimes too sensibly interested in their own cause, and generally as they have been too much abandoned to their own will, as few have courage to contradict them in the beginning of life, obstinacy or a prepossession of power, will not

permit them to give ear to argument, or to matters which do not coincide with their own prejudices; Ministers therefore are the intermediate channel to approach them, they study their foibles, of which no human being is exempt, and make them subservient to attain that end, when sound sense and plain reason is lost with them.

The Ministers were under the same diffidence the Queen had expressed at the scrupulous precaution our's had taken to send the King's intentions verbally, and thus keeping off giving anything in writing. They shook their heads, and thought such a manner of treating, forbode nothing good. We told them more freely the necessity our Minister lay under, by the nature of our constitution, subject to Parliamentary enquiry, to go on with caution, to move step by step, that so great and extended a plan as the extirpation almost of the House of Bourbon might startle the best intentions in Parliament. But merely supporting the House of Austria as auxiliaries, and re-establishing it on a formidable footing, could be opposed to none; a matter so single in itself, would lead on to the great end the King proposed to himself, but in such circumstances it would be premature for his servants to enter into formal engagements further than this positive declaration I was authorised to make, and which they might as surely depend, as if it was either given in the form of memorial, or even of a treaty; however, all we could say was not satis-

factory; they then resumed the Queen's language concerning the Sardinian treaty, expatiated much on the sacrifice they had made of Silesia, that the remains in Italy after such a cession to that Prince would not be worth keeping, could not pay 8,000 men, an object scarce worth their notice, that much of what he asked was so undetermined there was no fixing a boundary, the whole county of Anghiera included the mountains which extended to the Swiss, and cut them off from having any communication with the Gnions or any part of those republics; on the other side it took in the Laggo Maggiore, by the cession of which they virtually got the whole Milanese, for the town of Milan fell at the King of Sardinia's will, as that lake replenished the Naviglia with its waters, by which alone that town was supplied; so that it would merely depend on him to cut it off at his pleasure; but besides these considerations, the King of Sardinia must know that the town of Milan had a right immemorial to deliver up its keys, the moment the enemy had passed the Po, so that if his Sardinian Majesty became possessor of Pavia, he was in effect master of Milan.

To render their sentiments more effectual, they sent them in a memorial, but to keep up the negotiation, and not disgust the King, they gave up part of the Lago Maggiore, or what they called on the other side, with some mountains called of the County Anghierra, the whole of the Vigironesco, part of

the Plaisantin to the Trebbia, Bobbio, and their right to Final, if they had any included.

On this answer, the King of Sardinia continued a double negotiation direct with the King and with the Court of Versailles. Marquis D'Ormea, his first Minister, played off continually the Queen's Minister with proposals of different kinds; sometimes seeming to come nearer their offers, sometimes flying off again. In one remarkable instance, however, he had gone so far as to concede almost every point, the Court of Vienna had insisted upon. Their Minister sent immediately a messenger with the report; Baron Bartenstein seemed so clear in the matter, that he told me no material point remained to impede a conclusion of the treaty. Without loss of time they returned their answer, but when their Minister explained the matter to Marquis D'Ormea, he peremptorily denied he had ever held any such language, treated the whole as a figment of his own. that he could not have lost his senses to grant such concessions; that he never meant, never dreamt anything like what he imagined. The other, astonished, named the place, the day, the moment, and every particular. D'Ormea as positively denied. At last, the Queen's Minister recollected that a confidential person was present, I forget whom, who was, he said, an unexceptionable witness to the whole. The Sardinian Minister, struck down replied, "if you have a witness, I must acknowledge what you have written,

but at the same time, that, when I spoke to you, I was out of my senses, that the case was altered"—he could not, his master would not recede from the first terms he had demanded.

Matters went on with various vague discourses, altercations, terms, and bickerings between the two Courts until the month of March, 1743; the time then pressed on both sides for the opening of the campaign; the King of Sardinia was obliged to take some determined party; France would grant him all he asked, his policy and inclination led him to abide by the King's alliance, in consequence of which he pressed his Majesty more urgently to obtain proper terms for him from the Court of Vienna, "Much less," as he truly said, "than what the Court of Versailles had conceded." A messenger was dispatched from England with letters for Mr Villette, the King's Minister at Turin, who was to proceed after having a positive answer from the Court of Vienna to the last demands of his Sardinian Majesty. These were contained in a memorial given in by the Marquis D'Osorio at London, which Mr Villette called in his letter of the 10th of March a solid, instructive, and edifying paper. The Court of Vienna thought it neither instructive nor edifying, and so far from solid, that it was in every line captious and insidious, for instead of adhering to their first demand, the Court of Turin had essentially altered the negotiation, probably on the great facility they found with

France in making the enormous concessions they demanded anew—the suburbs of Pavia to secure the navigation of the Tessin, the town of Plaisance and all the Plaisantine in immediate possession till they should recover Feriol, and instead of aiding in the conquest of Naples and Sicily rejected the latter as impracticable; but when they had effectuated the former, the combined forces should act on the side of Savoy, and push their conquests in France for his Sardinian Majesty's emolument.

The Court of Vienna having some secret advices, on which they founded their determination, were so obstinately persuaded that the King of Sardinia would never close with France, they therefore sent on the messenger with a very sensible memorial, containing a peremptory refusal of all his Sardinian Majesty's new demands, and strong arguments of the absurdity and impropriety of them. Thus we went on till May.

THE END OF VOL. I.

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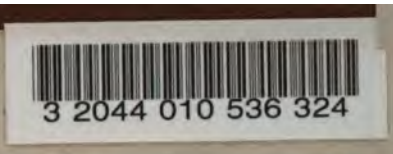

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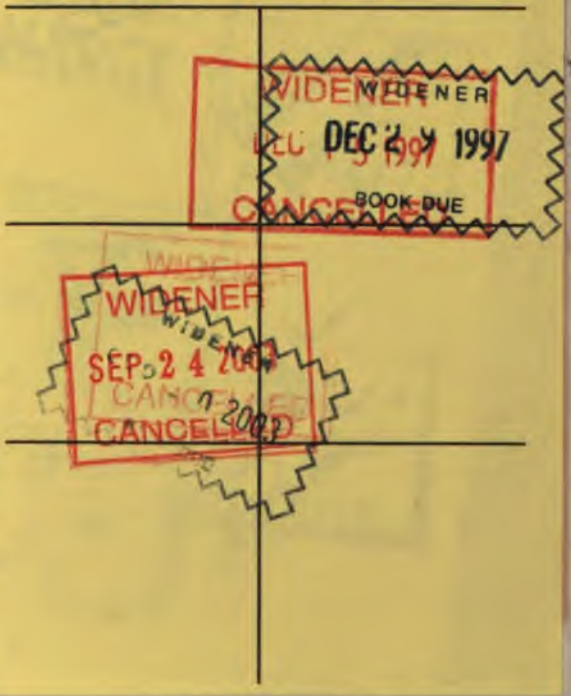
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